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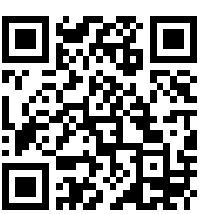

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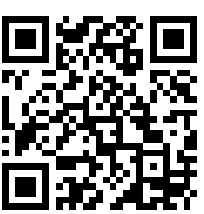

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THE OLD ENGLISH IMPERSONALIA

PART I.

IMPERSONAL EXPRESSIONS CONTAINING VERBS OF MATERIAL IMPORT IN THE ACTIVE VOICE.

BY

NILS WAHLÉN

GÖTEBORG 1925
ELANDERS BOKTRYCKERI AKTIEBOLAG

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THE OLD ENGLISH IMPERSONALIA

PART I.

IMPERSONAL EXPRESSIONS CONTAINING VERBS OF MATERIAL IMPORT IN THE ACTIVE VOICE

BY

NILS WAHLÉN

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION,
WITH DUE PERMISSION TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED IN ENGLISH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTEBORG, THURSDAY OCTOBER 1ST 1925, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M., FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GÖTEBORG 1925
ELANDERS BOKTRYCKERI AKTIEBOLAG

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THE SUBJECT of the present treatise was suggested to me by my teacher in English Philology, Professor K. F. SUNDÉN. It had originally been my intention to deal with all the Impersonalia occurring in OE. In the course of my investigations it became evident, however, that this would involve the application of far more time and labour than I was able to devote to the task. I have therefore confined myself to the treatment of impersonal verbs of material import and in the active voice. I hope to find an opportunity later on of considering also the vast number extant of OE. Impersonalia consisting of a verb of material import in the passive voice, or of *verbum substantivum* or (*ge-*) *weorðan* (as copulas), in conjunction with an adnominal element.

It is my pleasant duty in this place to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Professor K. F. SUNDÉN, who in the progress of my researches has kindly given me the inestimable benefit of his erudition and sound criticism. I also wish to proffer my sincere thanks to Professor EVALD LIDÉN for some valuable suggestions. Further, my thanks are due to Mr. GODFREY GREENE, M. A., who has revised my manuscript in point of language and idiom, and to the Librarians and other officials at the University Library, Uppsala, and the Gothenburg City Library, for their unfailing obligingness.

Skellefteå, September 1925. *Nils Wahlén.*

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INTRODUCTION.

Preliminary remarks.

There is one category of judgments, common to all Indo-European languages, ancient and modern, and also extant in several languages, not related to the IE. linguistic group (v. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, p. 114), the characteristic linguistic expression for which makes them stand apart from the rest. The vast majority of sentences, as found in most languages, were from an early epoch in the history of language, from psychological causes built up in a manner that suffered them to be easily dissolved into at least two chief component parts, a *subject* and a *predicate*. The subject was identified with the performer or the bearer of the action or state implied by the predicate. These two members were felt to constitute the necessary ingredient elements of any judgment, and most often also found their mode of linguistic expression.

Not so the sentences generally denominated *Impersonalia*, a term said to have been first used by the Stoics. As a typical representative of the impersonal category of verbal expressions may be taken Latin *pluit*, 'it rains'. The grammarian and philosopher of former ages was naturally struck by the peculiar anatomy of phrases such as this, which failed to suggest an idea of a subject with the function of a performer or a bearer of the action implied in the verb. The question: 'quis, or quid, pluit?' was unanswerable and even senseless. It was hardly possible, however, to deny their character of being the expressions for real judgments.

In view of the divergent structure of sentences of this kind, it is not surprising that the fundamental problem as to their origin and real nature should have been, and still is, the subject of much thought and discussion on the part of many eminent investigators.

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Among modern scholars of rank who have studied this problem may be mentioned Jerusalem, Miklosisch, Paul, Sigwart, Wundt, and many others. See the list of authors given by Brugmann, *Syntax*, p. 17 sq.

I need not here enter into any discussion of the much contested question whether a judgment must necessarily consist of two members, or whether one only is necessary for forming a real judgment. Cp. concerning this problem the statements made by Jerusalem, *Die Urtheilsfunction*, p. 121 sqq., Miklosisch, *Subjectlose Sätze*, p. 1 sqq., and Sigwart, *Die Impersonalien*, p. 1 sqq. Miklosisch, o. c., p. 7 sqq., gives an interesting account of the various views that since of old have been set forth with respect to the question of the essential character of the Impersonalia.

In order to obtain a fixed starting-point for the investigation of the OE. Impersonalia which I propose to make in this treatise, I may assume that those scholars are without doubt right who maintain that every judgment has necessarily at least two members, a *subject* and a *predicate*, whether linguistically expressed or not. Such is the opinion of many modern linguists and logicians of eminence. Cp. Jerusalem, o. c., p. 121 sqq., Paul, *Prinzipien* § 87, Sigwart, o. c., p. 75 sqq.

In such cases where the subject is clearly defined, so that it is, or may be, linguistically expressed by means of a morphologically independent word, we have to do with a so-called grammatical subject, and the construction is *personal*. In Latin, the pronominal subject is most often left unexpressed by a separate word, e. g. in the phrase *legit*, 'he, etc., reads'. But the performer or bearer of the action implied in the verb, the grammatical subject, is clearly defined by the ending phonem and the context and may have its separate linguistic expression, if wanted. The same remarks hold good with some cases of personal constructions met with in the Teut. languages, in which a grammatical subject has been left out. Cp. e. g. Nygaard, *Udeladelse af subjekt; 'subjektlöse' sætninger i det Norröne sprog;* Held, *Verbum ohne pronominales Subject in der älteren deutschen Sprache;* Pogatscher, *Unausgedrücktes Subjekt im Altenglischen.* (v. Bibliography).

In contradistinction to personal constructions of the type: (*ille*) *legit* stand sentences like *tonat*. Here, as well as in the case

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of *legit*, we find no morphologically independent subject.[1]) There is, however, an essential difference between the two constructions. Behind such an expression as *tonat* no idea whatever of a subject in the capacity of the performer of the action involved in the import of the verb lies hidden, and consequently, no such subject can find its linguistic expression. Whether this was originally so, or whether we are to assume a change to have taken place from an original, personal construction in the assumed prototypes of Latin *tonat*, etc., to an impersonal structure, is a much-debated problem. See introductory remarks to ch. II of this treatise (p. 142 sqq.). However this may be, in historic times the construction of phrases such as *tonat* is undoubtedly impersonal.

Earlier literature on the subject.

While the fundamental problem, so full of interest and so difficult of solution, concerning the origin and real nature of the so-called impersonal constructions in general has received and is still receiving its legitimate share of attention on the part of scholars, their occurrence, function and history in the different IE. languages have not, to my knowledge, been made the subject of any special and exhaustive investigation. With regard to English, Sundén in his *Essay I* has dealt with one group of OE. impersonal verbs as represented by *hyngran* and *lystan*, i. e. verbs denoting a physical and mental state, from a semological and genetic point of view. Van der Gaaf in his treatise *The Transition from the Impersonal to the Personal Construction in Middle English*, has discussed some English so-called impersonal verbs with regard to which we have to annotate a structural discrepancy partly extant in OE. already, and partly developing during the ME. period. This discrepancy may be illustrated by phrases on record such as the following: (OE.) 'Þa hingrede hine' (Blickl. Hom. 27:4), as compared with (OE.) 'Eadige synt þa ðe rihtwisnesse hingriað' (Gosp. Matth., ch. V, v. 6, Corp.); (OE.) 'Him þæt ne hreoweð æfter hingonge' (Guþlac 783), as compared with (ME.) 'He may that werre sore rewe' (Conf. Am. Prol. 1004; quoted from v.

[1]) For a statement of various explanations of the primary function and import of the ending phonem in the third prsn sg. (*tonat*), see Brugmann, *Syntax*, p. 19.

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der Gaaf); (OE.) Þam wife þa word wel licodon' (Beow. 640), as compared with (ME.) 'Come heder, and here me, and þou shalt like it for euer' (Gesta Rom., p. 281; quoted from v. der Gaaf). As seen from these examples, v. der Gaaf does not take the terms *impersonal, Impersonale,* in the same sense as they are apprehended in the present treatise, and consequently, our inquiries do not operate with quite the same material. The OE. verbs dealt with by v. der Gaaf are not only such as *hyngran* and *lystan,* which never occur with a nomin. rei for their subject, but also such as *hrēowan,* which are generally constructed in that manner. The term 'impersonal' applied to the latter class of verbs can only imply that their grammatical subject is not *a person,* and not that a grammatical subject is wanting. Note that the identical import is evidently assigned to the term by Sundén, *Essay II,* p. 320, since he adduces as 'impersonal' phrases such as: 'Þam wife þa word wel licodon' (quoted already above). For an account of the ME. transition from the so-called impersonal constructive type: *þing līcað mē* to the personal *I like something,* see van der Gaaf, o. c. A similar investigation to van der Gaaf's has been made as regards Swedish by A. Lindqvist in an essay entitled *Förskjutningar i förhållandet mellan grammatiskt och psykologiskt subjekt i svenskan.*[1]) Pogatscher, o. c., p. 294 sqq., has dealt with two cases of impersonal construction in OE., viz. sentences of the following types: *cwið þæt - - -,* and *mæg - - - sēon.* (v. the present treatise, ch. I, pp. 100 and 106, respectively).

What these authors have had occasion to say about the OE. Impersonalia appears to be practically all that has been published on the subject. It would seem, though, that an insight, as comprehensive and reliable as possible, into the actual occurrence and the history of these verbs and phrases might be of some interest in itself and not without value for the study of historical English grammar. It would be too ambitious, perhaps, to hope that the results obtained by means of such an investigation might be found helpful in throwing some fresh light upon the problem of the real nature of the Impersonalia, under the presumption that these results are compared with those arrived at by means of similar inquiries in other languages.

[1]) In Lunds Universitets Årsskrift 1912, N. F., Avd. I, Bd. 8, 2.

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The present treatise, then, would try to supply an exhaustive investigation of the OE. Impersonalia, as occurring in the literature of the OE. period, i. e. from the first appearance of literature in the OE. language up to c. 1100.

Terminology.

In dealing with this category of constructions, I have retained the time-honoured denomination *Impersonale* (*impersonal expression, impersonal verb*, etc.), in spite of its obvious shortcomings, since other denominations used by different authors are also unsatisfactory from one point of view or other. As has been repeatedly pointed out, e. g. by Miklosisch, o. c., p. 30 ('- - - da der Begriff eines Impersonale in hohem Grade schwankt, *Impersonale* daher ein wissenschaftlich unbrauchbarer Ausdruck ist'), and by Kjellman, *Om den opersonliga satsens natur*, p. 17 sq.[1]) the term fails to give an adequate idea of what are the essential characteristics of the category of expressions in question, and it admits of being variously interpreted, different authors assigning different meanings to it.

Delimitation of the term Impersonale.

After these precursory remarks, we will now endeavour to state what are the peculiar characteristics of the constructions denominated *Impersonalia*, i. e. with the application of the word which we have adopted.

One of the characteristic features has been mentioned already, viz. that of being destitute of any morphologically independent subject. Another characteristic quality inherent in an Impersonale is that its import represents a complete sentence, so that it may be semantically resolved into a subject and a predicate, although no independent subject in the shape of a (pro)noun, an infinitive or a clause, is extant or may easily be supplied, and often no independent predicate is morphologically distinguishable. Cp. Miklosisch, o. c., p. 30. With this definition, such sentences as: 'Þam wife þa word wel licodon', are quite as personal as e. g. 'the woman liked the words well', although the subject of the former phrase is certainly no *person*. Cp. what

[1]) In Studier i Modern Språkvetenskap VII, Upsala 1920.

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Sigwart, o. c., p. 29, says with regard especially to impersonal sentences implying *acoustic perceptions:* 'Ist es unzweifelhaft, dass in solchen Wendungen (as German: *es pfeift, es klopft*), nur das Gehörte unter Abstraction von dem den Laut hervorbringenden Subject, den Gegenstand meiner Aussage bildet, so ist damit bewiesen dass Zustände, Vorgänge, die als solche einen sinnlichen Eindruck machen, nicht nothwendig ausdrücklich auf ein Ding bezogen werden müssen, sondern für sich Gegenstand einer Aussage werden können, - -.' Cp. Brugmann, *Ursprung*, p. 8. This amounts to saying that *the whistling* or *the knocking* is the real (semantic) subject and that the notion of their *existence* constitutes the predicate (qualified as to time and locality). Such sentences may occasionally also be interpreted as predications of *identity*.

The constitutive feature of an impersonal expression such as *tonat* is that it contains synthetically, i. e. incapsulated in the verbal form, both a subject and a predicational element, distinguishable by means of a deeper semantic analysis, only. In *tonat*, the action implied in the verb must be considered to function in the capacity of a subject, while the statement that this action has, or has not, reality at any given time and in a certain locality, is the predicate. *Tonat* may be dismembered into *tonitrus est*. It must be borne in mind, however, that phrases such as Latin *tonat* may mean not so much *tonitrus est* (at a certain time and in a given locality), = a predication of *existence*, as rather *the time and the locality* (*the situation*) *are characterized by thunder*. If they have this latter import, they must be considered to have the situation for their subject = a predication of *attribution*. Cp. the discussion on the Latin phrase *placidum est* below.

Again, the predicational analysis of an OE. Impersonale such as *hine hyngreð* gives another result. We are here confronted with two notions, one implying a personal substance, and the other a verbal notion of affect, which in modern English and in point of many OE. *verba affectuum*, when the two elements are combined to form a sentence, are expressed in the way that the personal notion constitutes the bearer of the affect, i. e. appears as grammatical subject, and the notion of affect takes the shape of a grammatical predicate. But in the present case, the OE.

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language has employed a morphological expression that implies quite a different mode of apprehension of the relation between the two notions. This different mode of apprehension has in OE. (and even in Mod. Engl.) its parallel in complete sentences such as: 'Hine fyrwyt bræc modgehygdum, hwæt þa men wæron'. Beow. 232. — 'Þonne hine on holme hungor bysgað'. Walfish 51. (cp. Mod. Engl.: 'horror seized him', 'jealousy invaded him'). See Sundén, *Essay I*, p. 55. Here the affect itself is personified and represented as an entity seizing or taking hold of a person. This view no doubt forms the basis for the semantic apprehension of a sentence such as *hine hyngreð*, i. e. to OE. linguistic instinct it meant 'hunger takes hold of him' (= a predication of *action*). And this type of sentence has the constitutive feature of an Impersonale, inasmuch as both a subject and a predicate are incapsulated in the verbal form and become conspicuous by means of a deeper semantic analysis, only.

Sometimes the subject is merged in a verbal and a nominal form conjointly, so that it is expressed by both. This latter category of phrases consists of a form of *verbum substantivum* (without any [pro]nominal grammatical subject) + an infinitive, i. e. sentences of the following aspect: 'Swiðe ungelice of þisse tiide me is to lifigenne'. (Bede 424:4). As is further set forth in ch. I, section B, p. 123 sqq., it is evidently the modal notion of obligation, etc., implied by *verbum substantivum* and the infinitive conjointly, that constitutes the semantic subject of sentences such as this. A semantic analysis of the sentence quoted gives as result: 'an obligation going in the direction of living quite differently exists for me'.

The above characterization no doubt constitutes the essential feature of a considerable number of Impersonalia. It does not, however, apply to all formations which should be included in that category of sentences. If we look at an impersonal phrase such as e. g. Latin *placidum est*, it is possible, doubtless, to deduce the necessarily existing subject through a kind of concretion of the notion implied in the phrase, as in the case of *tonat* = 'tonitrus est' (v. above); in other words, *placidum est* may in some few instances be equivalent to 'calm exists'. But in by far the greater number of cases of Impersonalia of the morpho-

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logical aspect represented by *placidum est*, it is the more or less dimly felt notions of the time and the locality (the *situation*) that are qualified by the phrase in question, and which therefore constitute the real subjects. *Placidum est* most often implies that a given locality at a certain time is characterized by being calm.

The function of 'hit'.

There is another circumstance to be noted with regard to the Impersonalia. We have said that one characteristic feature proper to them is that they are void of a morphologically distinct subject of real import. Such is evidently the case with Latin *pluit, placidum est.* But if we look at OE. and OHG. impersonal expressions such as *hit rīnð, iȝ regenôt, hit is stille,* we find the pronouns *hit* and *iȝ*, respectively, in the usual position of a subject. These words might therefore be supposed to have also the function of real grammatical subjects, in which case the phrases would constitute personal constructions. That, however, the pronouns in question have no real semantic function, but are merely formal words here, as maintained by many scholars, would seem to admit of no doubt whatever. See the exhaustive account of the origin and nature of this 'sham-subject' occurring in the Teutonic and the Romanic languages, given by Brugmann in his work, *Der Ursprung des Scheinsubjekts 'es'*. As pointed out by that scholar (p. 2), 'es' is a comparatively recent innovation, wanting in many of the ancient languages. Cp. e. g., on the one hand, OE. *hit rīnð*, and on the other, Sanskr. *várṣati*, Greek ὕει, Lat. *pluit*, Goth. *rigneiþ* and ON. *rignir*. Nor is it of constant occurrence in the OE. impersonal phrases (v. below). It does not occur either in corresponding impersonal expressions of some modern languages such as Spanish and Portuguese.

In spite of the divergent morphological aspect, no semantic discrepancy is distinguishable between phrases such as ON. *rignir* and OE. *hit rīnð*. Nor can we say that *hit* has any import in phrases such as OE. *hit is stille*, etc., as compared with extant OE. phrases of the type: *is windig*. The pronoun *hit* of the former expression has nothing to do with the notion of a real subject, the 'situation', which must be considered as fairly well salient

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in most of the phrases of the two types, *hit is stille* and *is windig*. See above. Note, however, that Sigwart (o. c., p. 29 sqq.) evidently is of another opinion, since he appears to assume the pronoun in question to have in many cases lost a real import, originally attached to it, and that this presumed original import may sometimes still stand out more or less clearly.

For the reasons hinted at, it seems preferable by far to suppose with Brugmann that 'es' never had any semantic function whatever in constructions of the types: *hit rīnð*, *hit is stille*, and that its secondary occurrence here was due to a wish for conformity with the enormous number of sentences containing from the outset a morphologically detached subject, in this case with a real semantic function, and a predicate. According to Brugmann, *Syntax* p. 22, the formal word in question (OE. *hit*, German *es*, etc.) was proximately taken over from complex sentences in which the principal clause contains an originally anticipatory pronoun with the function of a real subject, thus in sentences of the type: *es freut mich, dich zu sehen, es freut mich, dass du kommst.* This proleptic pronoun, according to the same authority, gradually reached such a degree of indefiniteness as to deteriorate into a purely formal word. When this development had taken place, the formal *es* came to be used also in a great number of impersonal phrases, in order to fill, formally, the vacant place of a subject. Cp. Brugmann, *Ursprung*, p. 8 sqq., and Sundén's criticism of Jespersen's *Sprogets Logik*.[1])

As mentioned already, the tendency to add a formal subject, in OE. the pronoun *hit*, is very far from constant. This applies e. g. to impersonal sentences initiated by an adverb or an adverbial phrase. Cp. sentences such as the following:

--- on þære nihte, þa hit stillost wæs, ---. (Dial. Greg. 238:10), and: Þa wæs on þam ofne, þær se engel becwom, windig & wynsum, ---. (Daniel 346).

In both quotations, the more or less vaguely felt notion of the 'situation' is the subject of the sentence.[2])

[1]) In Svensk Humanistisk Tidskrift, Årg. I, 2, 1917.

[2]) For an explanation why in sentences of this structure, the absence of such a formal subject was evidently not felt as a deficiency that in all cases needed supplying, see G. Cederschiöld, *Om s. k. subjektlösa satser i svenskan*, in Nordisk Tidskrift 1895, p. 343 sq.

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It should be noted, too, that whole categories of Impersonalia, with but few exceptions, never occur with this *hit*. This rule holds good for instance with the fairly numerous impersonal sentences belonging to the semantic group implying *physical* and *mental affections*. In these cases, as a rule, an oblique form of a personal pronoun initiates the sentence. As examples:

Hine þyrste hwylum and hwilum hingrode. (Wulfstan 17:4). — Him sceal sceamian ætforan gode ælmihtigum. (Saints I 272:169).

The varying usage as regards the addition of *hit* is illustrated, too, in sentences containing a form of *verbum substantivum*, or *(ge)weorðan*, + a nominal expression, which evidently constitutes a part of the predicate. Cp. Sigwart, o. c., p. 46. Sentences of this structural aspect are copiously represented in OE. I here give some examples of this type of constructions, all of them implying either some natural phenomenon or some specification of time.

a. Examples containing *hit:* þonne hit wæs renig weder - - -. Riddle I 10. — - - -, gif hit hwene ær bið stearce stormas & norðanwindas & micle renas & snawas. Boethius 52:4. — Mycel wind bleow & hit wæs hreoh sæ. Gosp. John, ch. VI, v. 18, Corp. — Næs hit lengra fyrst, ac ymb ane niht eft gefremede morðbeala mare - - -. Beow. 134. — - - - cyþende wæron, þæt hit wæs niht oð midne dæg. Orosius 104:19. — Þu wast þæt hit is nu hreowsunga tid. Saints II 342: 121.

b. Examples without *hit:* On þam timan wæs swiþe hefigtime wynter. Saints I 246:142. — Swylce is seo oferlufu eorþan gestreona: efne hit bið gelic rena scurum, þonne hy of heofenum swiðost dreosað and eft hraðe eall toglidað, bið fæger weder and beorht sunne. Wulfstan 264:1. — - - -, þær ne bið nawþer ne on sumera niht, ne on wintra dæg. Boethius 68:1.

It is evident that the expressions without *hit* are no less impersonal in character than those containing that word. Here too, the *hit* of the first group no doubt has a merely formal function. What makes these types of sentences impersonal is on the one hand the fact that they should be proximately described as implying: *a given time and locality are qualified by the idea contained in the nominal element,* and on the other, the circumstance that the *situation,* which notion thus constitutes the semantic subject, is not expressed by a nomin. rei.

On the whole, there seem to be no fixed rules for the addition of this secondary formal subject in OE. As fas as I can

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see, the state of things in this respect is next to chaotic. Nor shall I attempt in this treatise to trace any rules for the application or omission of *hit*.

ethods of investigation.

For the purpose of obtaining a material as exhaustive and reliable as possible, I have had recourse to the OE. literature itself. Thus all the works belonging to that period, i. e. from c. 700 to c. 1100, have, with few exceptions, been searched through, as far as they are accessible in printed editions. It goes without saying that the Anglo-Saxon dictionaries most widely used have been ransacked, too. A list of the works read is given at the end of the treatise.

ivision and delimitation of the subject.

The examples of expressions of a nature corresponding to the definition of the term *Impersonale* given in the preceding, that may be gathered from the OE. literature, constitute a not inconsiderable bulk of material. For the purpose of bringing system and order into this material,[1]) it has seemed best to keep asunder, in the first place, three large morphological categories of Impersonalia. The following are the three categories in question:

I. Impersonal phrases containing *verbs of material import in the active voice.*

As examples: Hit swa swiðe rinde þæt hie hæfdon wæter genog. Orosius 268:15. — And mec longode. Wife's Complaint 14. — Swiðe ungelice of ðisse tiide me is to lifigenne. Bede 424:4.

In the last example quoted, *verbum substantivum* should be awarded material import, since it gives expression on the one hand to the notion of *existence*, and on the other, in conjunction with the gerund, to the notion of *obligation, duty*, etc., which constitutes the semantic subject of the sentence.

II. Impersonal phrases containing *verbs of material import in the passive voice.*

[1]) It is doubtless only to be expected that more than one example will have escaped my watchfulness, in spite of every care. Still, I may confidently hope that nothing important has been overlooked.

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As examples: Wæs se fruma egeslic leodum on lande, swa hyt lungre wearð on hyra sincgifan sare geendod. Beow. 2310. — Him wearð gebeddod mid hnescre beddinge. Saints II 438:191. — Hu mæg þonne þær beon fram him gebeden? Dial. Greg. 336:5. — Þu ne scealt wenan, þæt þa wlitegan tungl þæs þeowdomes aðroten weorðe ær domes dæge. Metra XXIX 39. — Him engel godes eall asægde, swa his mandrihten gemæted wearð. Daniel 157.

III. Impersonal phrases containing *bēon* (*wesan*) or (*ge*)-*weorðan*, as copulas, + *an adnominal element.*

As examples: On sumera hit bið wearm, & on wintra ceald. Boethius 49:20. — Þa hit þa wæs wel gewinde in þa burg, þa onbærnde he - - -. Bede 202:7. — Hit wæs swiðe neah his ende. Greg. Dial. 88:8. — Þær is wlitig & wynsum, wæstmas scinað, beorhte ofer burgum. Christ and Satan 214. — Ne wyrð hit æfre ful god ær on þisse þeode, ær man - - -. Wulfstan 243:18.

Owing to the vastness of the material concerned, it has proved impossible or impracticable to deal with the whole of it within the scope of one treatise. The present investigation therefore is confined to a treatment of the OE. Impersonalia of the *first* of the three chief categories.

Plan of the treatise.

The plan of the treatise, I trust, will be found correct in principle. After stating in the Introduction *the definition* and *delimitation*, etc., of my subject, I give in Chapter I *a descriptive survey* of all the OE. impersonal constructions containing finite verbs of material import and in the active voice, that I have collected. The second chapter of my treatise will try to give *a genetic survey* of these OE. impersonal expressions, in other words, it will be my endeavour to state, in that chapter, what may be said with respect to their earlier history.

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CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTIVE SURVEY.

iminary remarks.

It has seemed best to keep asunder two classes of relevant sentences: *simple sentences* and *complex sentences*, and to treat them apart in two separate sections, A and B.

Within each section, the Impersonalia have been arranged in different groups according to their semantic character.[1]) These groups are necessarily only fairly distinctly detached from each other, inasmuch as the borders between them are certainly not always clear and well-defined. The significations of the Impersonalia very frequently overlap. Consequently, in a great many instances the plan of arrangement becomes subjective and arbitrary, in other words, some impersonal verb or phrase placed in a certain semantic group, might perhaps just as well find its place in another group. Cases in point are e. g. some verbs belonging to Group 5, which includes Impersonalia implying some manifestation of *mental activity*, (such as *[ge]mātan*, 'to dream'), which are nearly akin to the verbs of Group 4, subcategory b, comprising Impersonalia denoting *mental affections*.

The identical verb often occurs with pretty different senses in different passages. Thus OE. *onhagian*, which verb sometimes has a sense implying 'inclination', an import which gives it a place among expressions denoting *mental affections*, and sometimes implies 'to have an opportunity', etc. The extant instances of *onhagian* as an impers. verb with the last-mentioned import are included within Group 6, subcategory b, which comprises expressions referring to some aspect of the *state of things*.

[1]) Note, however, that the semantic principle has not been adhered to in discriminating the last of the groups (group number 8) from those preceding. What makes the phrases of that class stand apart from the rest, is the peculiar nature of their morphological aspect (v. present chapter, p. 105).

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It not infrequently happens, too, that it is hard to settle which of two or more significations is the correct or predominant one in a given example. Such cases have been noted.

The OE. Impersonalia, like their counterparts in other languages, comprise expressions of, on the one hand, a more concrete, elementary character, and on the other, a more abstract and complex import. In arranging the examples of OE. Impersonalia found, it has seemed best to follow the principle of treating in the first place semantic groups containing Impersonalia which represent, on the whole, more concrete, elementary conceptions. The reason for this is obvious. It appears incontestable that Impersonalia of such more concrete significations are in the main of more ancient origin than those of a more abstract character. The former, e. g. many of the so-called *meteorological verbs*, doubtless belong to the oldest layers of human speech, while the latter in general must be ascribed to later epochs in the development of the human mind. This of course must be taken *cum grano salis*. It is evident that we cannot with entire certainty attribute to any one given Impersonale a later origin than to others solely on account of the more abstract and complex character of its import.

Still, with the reservations hinted at, we are justified, no doubt, in ascribing to the more concrete Impersonalia, on the whole a higher grade of antiquity than to the impersonal phrases of the latter category. In this treatise, therefore, which aims at an as far as possible historical description of the OE. Impersonalia, the scheme of arrangement alluded to, appears to be the natural and logical one.

A strict adherence, in an unbroken line, to this principle, is not practicable, however, other easily recognizable considerations having been, in some cases, felt to be of greater weight.

Within the larger semantic groups, the examples are, in some instances where such an arrangement seemed serviceable, disposed in smaller groups, each including phrases that are semantically more nearly related to one another than those of the other subordinate categories. When no such division has appeared practicable, as well as within these smaller groups, the alphabetical word-order has been employed.

The individual examples within the separate groups are quoted

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as far as possible in chronological order. It has seemed best, however, to keep examples gathered from poetical texts apart from those found in prose. Thus in each semantic group the quotations from poetry are given first, in approximately chronological order, and then those met with in prose, in the same order. As to the time when the OE. texts were written, the statements of A. Brandl, Geschichte der Altengl. Literatur I, have been followed.

The etymology of the OE. Impersonalia, as well as their equivalents in other languages, is given before the examples. Since I have had, in a great many cases, to supply the statements of e. g. Fick[1]), from those to be found e. g. in Walde[2]), and vice versa, there are some inconsistencies in the spelling which I have not thought it necessary to reduce to a common standard. Thus e. g. in Fick III, the root of OE. *sūgan* appears with the spelling **suk-*, **seuk-*, while in Walde it has the aspect **suq-*, **seuq-*, the IE. velar explosives having different symbols in the two works. It is to be hoped that discrepancies of this kind will not be found of moment.

I have not thought it necessary, or of any interest here, to give the etymology of prefixes of frequent occurrence, such as *ā-*, *be-*, *for-*, *ge-*, *mis-*, *of-*, *ofer-*, *on-*, etc.

In case the OE. verbs survived into ME. and NE., or into ME. only, the ME. (and NE.) forms are stated.

The examples are rendered with the spelling, the alterations and emendations of the editions used, with, as a rule, no indications as to where such alterations have been made. Only in cases where the impersonal expression itself has been supplied by an editor, has this fact been indicated, by putting the expression within brackets.[3])

The passages in which the impersonal expressions occur, are quoted as fully as it seemed necessary to render them, so that their sense should be easily discernible. In some instances, viz.

[1]) Vergleichendes Wörterbuch d. idg. Sprachen III, Göttingen 1909.

[2]) Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1910.

[3]) Nor have I considered it necessary to render the signs of vowel length, etc. The letters þ and ð have been retained. Not so ȝ, which type, as regards OE. forms, has been replaced by *g*, for practical reasons, it being of course immaterial here, whether ȝ or *g* is used. The spelling occurring in Grein, Bibliothek der angelsächs. Prosa I, has been reduced to the normal type. The punctuation of the separate texts has not been strictly followed.

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when there are extant several examples of, in all essentials, identical impersonal, formations, I have refrained from citing all of them, contenting myself with indicating the texts, etc., where such are to be found. I cannot, however, lay claim to having been quite consistent in this.

A great many of the verbs recorded as impersonal, sometimes appear in the capacity of personal verbs, with either a *nomin. personæ* or a *nomin. rei* for their subject.[1]) I have not given any instances of such personal constructions, except in cases where this was necessary for the discussion of the phrases. In case any individual verb is not met with except as an Impersonale, this fact is pointed out.

SECTION A. SIMPLE SENTENCES.

Group 1: Expressions for natural phenomena.

This semantic group, comparatively very well represented, comprises two subcategories:

a. expressions for *atmospheric phenomena: state of temperature; fall of hail, rain,* or *snow; atmospheric disturbances* in the form of *wind, thunder,* or *lightning; state of weather in general.*

b. expressions for *other natural phenomena: growth* and *decay in nature;* some perceptions of *sight* and *hearing;* some *nondescript natural phenomena;* further, some *phenomena of light* and *darkness* dependent on the movements of the sun.

It fairly frequently happens that OE. impersonal verbs belonging to Group 1, are used in a metaphorical sense, as e. g. *hagolian* in the following quotation (from Orosius, 104:19): '- - - & on sumre tide hit hagalade stanum ofer ealle Romane', i. e. 'meteoric stones fell after the manner of drops of rain upon all the Romans'.

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[1]) We often find an *infinitive*, or a *dependent clause*, with the identical function (v. present chapter, section B, pp. 113, 126).

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Subcategory a: *Atmospheric phenomena.*

There are but few OE. examples extant containing impersonal constructions referring to the *state of temperature.* The verbs that concern us here are only two in number: *frēosan,* and *winterlǣcan.*

OE. hit friest[1]), 'it freezes'.

OE. *frēosan,* str. verb, 'to freeze', has the following etymologically and semasiologically corresponding counterparts in the Teut. dialects, viz. MLG. *vrēsen,* OHG. *friosan,* and ON. *frjósa.* They, as well as the OE. verb, are the descendants of Prim. Teut. str. verb **freusan,* 'to freeze', < Prim. Teut. verbal base **frus-,* 'to freeze', < IE. verbal root **prus-,* 'to freeze, burn' (cp. Sanskr. *plṓṣati,* 'singes, burns'; Lat *prurit,* 'tingles, burns'.)

The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *fre(o)se(n),* etc., and *freeze,* respectively.

Examples found: - - - swa on niht þonne hit swiþe freoseþ. Blickl. Hom. 93. — Hit begann þa on æfnunge egeslice freosan. Saints I 248: 153. — Gelat—hit fryst. Ælfr. Grammar 128.

OE. hit winterlǣc(e)þ, 'it grows wintry, cold.'[2])

OE. *winterlǣcan,* compound wk verb, 'to grow wintry' (of season), is composed of the substantive *winter* and the suffix *-lǣcan,* also used as an independent verb with the import 'to move quickly, to spring' (v. Wright, § 658). The simple verb is derived from W. Germ. **laikjan,* related to Prim. Teut. **laikan,* 'to jump, play' (OE. *lācan*). The suffix *-læcan* is met with also in such OE. verbs as *æfenlǣcan,* 'to become evening', *dyrstlǣcan,* 'to dare, presume', *efenlǣcan,* 'to imitate', *loflǣcan,* 'to praise', *nēalǣcan,*

[1]) The normal form. As to actually recorded forms, of this and other verbs, v. the examples quoted.

[2]) Sweet, CH and Wright (§ 658), mention the signification 'to grow wintry', only. On the other hand, the same authorities ascribe to the impersonal verb *sumorlǣcan* no other sense than 'to draw on towards summer'.

As regards *winterlǣcan,* this verb would seem to be recorded not only with the sense mentioned above, but also with an import corresponding to that of *sumorlǣcan,* i. e. 'to draw on towards winter'. This latter signification is no doubt at least equally acceptable in the following quotation: 'Ða hit winter leohte, þa ferde se fyrd ham.' Chron. 136 E (A. D. 1006). (v. p. 34).

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'to approach', *rihtlæcan*,'to put right', *sumorlæcan*, 'to draw on towards summer', and others (v. Wright, as above).

The other Teutonic dialects have no verbs, personal or impersonal, corresponding to OE. *winterlæcan* (cp. MLG. *nâleken*, 'to come nearer'). It did not survive, in either of its senses, into ME. and NE.

Examples found: Swa heo (:the sun) suðor bið, swa hit swiþor winterlæcð. De Temp., Cockayne III 252. — Ða hit winter leohte, þa ferde se fyrd ham. Chron. 136 E (A. D. 1006) (v. preceding page, note 2).

This verb never occurs in personal use, according to dictionaries.

Impersonal expressions referring to the fall of *hail*, *rain*, or *snow*, are comparatively frequently recorded in OE. This holds good especially with regard to those denoting *rain*. The verbs belonging here are *hagolian*, *rīnan*, and *snīwan*.

OE. hit hagolað, 'it hails'.

The OE. denominative wk verb *hagolian*, 'to hail', is derived, ultimately, from the Prim. Teut. noun **hayla-*, 'hail', whence also ON. *hagla*, MHG. *hagelen*, of the same import.

The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *hazelen*, etc., and *hail*, respectively.

Examples found: Þæt þridde wæs þæt hit hagolade seofon niht, dæges & nihtes, ofer ealle Romane. Orosius 234:6. — On sumre tide hit hagalade stanum ofer ealle Romane. ibid. 104:19 (metaphorical sense; v. p. 16 above). — Grandinat—hit hageloð. Ælfr. Grammar 128.

This verb is exclusively impersonal, according to dictionaries.

OE. hit rīnð, 'it rains'.

OE. *rignan*,[1]) *rīnan*, wk verb (with occasional strong forms, shaped on the analogy of the verb *scīnan*), 'to rain'[2]), is derived

[1]) There occur no examples of OE. *rignan*, nor of the strong forms, in impersonal phrases.

[2]) As to OE. *regnian*, NE. *rain*, this verb is (accidentally?) not recorded in impersonal use in OE. There is hardly any reason, though, to suppose that it did not occur as an Impersonale there too, as well as in ME. and NE.

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from Prim. Teut. **reynian*, 'to rain', denominative verb formed on the Prim. Teut. noun **reyana-*, **reyna-*, 'rain'. From Prim. Teut. **reynian* are derived also Goth. *rignjan*, ON. *rigna*, 'to rain'.

The OE. verb survived into ME., where it had the form *rine*, *ryne*, etc. The latest example annotated in NED is dated 1387. ME. *rine* was ousted by *reine*, *raine*, NE. *rain*, < OE. *regnian*, denominative verb, 'to rain', ultimately from Prim. Teut. subst. **reyana-*, OE. *regn*, 'rain'. (NE. *rain*).

Examples found: Þa abædon hie æt þæm ælmihtegum Gode þæt hit swa swiðe rinde þæt hie hæfdon wæter genog. Orosius 268:15. — Hu mon geseah weallan blod of eorþan & rinan meolc of heofonum. ibid. 3:26 (metaph. sense; doubtful Impersonale). — Sie fyr onæled & þin heall gewyrmed, & hit rine & sniwe & styrme ute. Bede 134:28. — Ðeah ðe ealle eorðan wæter syn gemenged wið ðam heofonlicum wætrum uppe on ane ædran, and hit samlice rinan onginne eal middangeard mid eallum his gesceaftum, - - -. Prose Solomon and Saturn 148. — Hit þonne onginnað rinan blodigan regne. Verc. Hom. 131:6 (metaph. import). — Pluit — hit rinþ. Ælfr. Grammar 128. — And hit rinde þa ofer eorðan feowertig daga and feowertig nihta on an. Ælfr. Genesis, ch. VII, v. 12. — Hit þa ongan rinan feowertig daga and feowertig nihta tosomne þy mæstan rene. Wulfstan 206:19. — Hit agan þa rinan XL daga and XL nihta tosomne þæm mæstan rene. ibid. 216:33. — Þa rinde hit, and þær comun flod, and - - - -. Gosp. Matth., ch. VII, v. 27, Corp. — Soðlice on þam dæge þe loð eode of Sodoma, hyt rinde fyr & swefl of heofone & ealle forspilde. ibid. Luke, ch. XVII, v. 29 (metaph. import).

Some of the examples quoted call for special remarks, since, as indicated, their impersonal character is questionable. In the quotation from Orosius 3:26, we find the construction: 'mon geseah weallan blod - - - and rinan meolc - - -.' What is the function to be ascribed to the substantives *blod* and *meolc?* Their form may indicate either the nomin. or the accus. case. It seems hardly possible to settle this question.[1]) On the one hand, we have instances of personal constructions as e. g.: '- - - and rineþ blodig regn æt æfen.' Blickl. Hom. 91. Here the form of the adjective proves the noun to be in the nominative, and consequently to constitute the grammatical subject of the sentence. Cp. 'Unmæte renas rindon'. Dial. Greg. 196:2. It is therefore quite possible, no doubt, to assume a personal construction in the quotation in question.

[1]) The word-order, which might be taken as indicating accus. forms, cannot be relied upon in this case, inasmuch as we find the identical arrangement of the words in, e. g., the unmistakably personal construction occurring in Blickl. Hom. 91: 'rineþ blodig regn æt æfen'.

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On the other hand, it appears quite as justifiable to consider the nouns *blod* and *meolc* to function in the capacity of objects of contents (or result), after the manner of Mod. E. examples such as: 'it rained blood', 'it hailed stones', etc. See Brugmann, *Syntax*, p. 24. There is, however, no instance to be found of an unequivocal accus. form. It appears highly probable, though, that in the quotation from the Gospel of St. Luke, ch. XVII, given above: 'hit rinde fyr & swefl of heofone', the nouns *fyr* and *swefl* represent such objects, since in the Vulgate the passage has the following aspect: 'pluit *ignem* et sulphur de caelo'. The Greek text here shows accus. forms, too. It is of interest to note that the Gothic version, which generally follows the Greek original pretty closely, renders the selfsame passage thus: 'rignida *swibla* jah *funin* - - -', i. e. with dativa1 (or instrumental) forms.

Another circumstance that tends to show that we are confronted with an impersonal construction in the quotation from Orosius 3:26, is the occurrence of some OE. counterparts, already cited above, of the Gothic phrase just quoted. Thus we find: 'On sumre tide hit hagalade stanum ofer ealle Romane'. Orosius 104:19 (etc.; v. the examples quoted). In sentences such as these, there occurs a dative (or an instrumental) with a clearly adverbial function, in the place of the (nomin. or) accus.

The grammatical analysis of the example quoted from Prose Solomon and Saturn 148: '- - - and hit samlice rinan onginne eal middangeard mid eallum his gesceaftum', presents some difficulties, too. *Eal middangeard* evidently is a nomin., to judge from its form. But why then *hit?* The phrase, as it stands, probably is a somewhat slipshod compromise between an impersonal formation such as: 'hit rinde ofer eorþan - - -' (Ælfr. Genesis, ch. VII, v. 12), and a personal phrase such as: 'Sio eorþe rinde ealswa swiðe of hire easprencgum angen þam heofelican flode'. Wulfstan 216:34.

OE. hit snīwð, 'it snows'.

OE. *snīwan*, wk verb, 'to snow', is, like its counterparts in other Teut. dialects: OHG. *snîwan*, and OIcel. *sníva*, of the same import, the descendant of the Prim. Teut. strong verb **sniγwan*,

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**snīwan*, 'to snow', formed on the Prim. Teut. verbal base **sniyw-*, < IE. verbal root **sni(n)g^{u}h-*. From the identical IE. root are derived also: Sanskr. *snihyati*, 'becomes wet;' OBactr. *snaēžaiti*, Greek *νείφει*, Lat *ninguit*, all = 'it snows'; OIrish. *snigid*, 'it rains, snows'.

OE. *snīwan* survived into ME. and early NE., in the forms *sniwe(n)*, *snew*, respectively. The latest example given in NED of NE. *snew*, is dated 1746. The NE. verb *to snow* is a denominative formation from the subst., OE. *snāw*, 'snow'.

Examples found: - - - & sie fyr onæled & þin heall gewyrmed, & hit rine & sniwe & styrme ute. Bede 134:28. — Ningit—hit sniwð. Ælfr. Grammar 128. — Þa cwom þær micel snaw and swa miclum sniwde swelce micel flys feolle. Epist. Alex. 159:538.

The OE. impersonal verbs denoting *atmospherical disturbances* caused by *wind* and *thunder* are *blāwan*, *styrman*, *līehtan*, and *þunrian*. The examples on record are but few in number.

OE. hit *blǣwð, 'it blows'.

OE *blāwan*, str. verb, with an originally reduplicated preterite, 'to blow'. This verb and its one counterpart in the Teutonic dialects, OHG. *plâhan*, *plâen*, *blâen*, etc., of the same import, are both derived from Prim. Teut. verbal base **blē-*, 'to blow', < IE. verbal root **bhlē-*, 'to blow'. Cp. IE. root **bhlā-*, whence Lat. *flare*, also = 'to blow'.

OE. *blāwan* survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *blawe*, etc., and *blow*, respectively.

Example found: He cwæð to þam folce þonne ge geseoð þa lyfte cumende on west-dæle, sona ge cweðað storm cymð, & hit swa byð And þonne ge geseoð suðan (:from the south) blawan, ge secgað þ is towerd & hit byð. Gosp. Luke, ch. XII, v. 55, Corp.

OE. hit *styrmð, 'it storms'.

OE. *styrman*, a denominative wk verb, 'to storm', is, like its etymologically and semasiologically corresponding counterparts: MHG *stürmen*, ON. *styrma*, the descendant of the Prim. Teut. denominative verb **sturmian*, 'to storm', formed on the Prim. Teut.

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noun **sturma-*, 'a storm', from Prim. Teut. verbal base **stwer-*, **stur-*, 'to turn round, derange'. Cp. OHG. *sturmen*, 'to storm'.

The OE. verb survived into ME., where we find the form *sturme(n)*, etc.

Example found: --- & sie fyr onæled & þin heall gewyrmed, & hit rine & sniwe & styrme ute. Bede 134:28.

OE. hit *līeht, 'there is a flash of lightning'.

OE. *līehtan*, a denominative wk verb, 'to give light, to shine', etc., had the following etymologically corresponding counterparts, of the same or kindred import, in other Teut. dialects: OS. *liuhtian*, OHG. *liuhtan*, *-en*, Goth. *liuhtjan*. These verbs are the representatives in the individual dialects of the Prim. Teut. denominative verb **leuhtjan*, 'to shine', formed on the Prim. Teut. subst. **leuhta-*, 'a light'. This substantive is derived from Prim. Teut. verbal base **leuh-*, **luh-*, 'to shine', from IE. verbal root **leuk-*, of the same import, whence also Sanskr. *rṓcatē*, 'shines', *lṓkatē*, 'sees', Greek *λεύσσω*, 'I see', and Lat. *lucet*, 'it is light'.

The OE. verb survived into ME., where we find the form *lihten*, etc.

Example found; Fulminat—hit liht. Ælfr. Grammar 128.

There are no instances recorded by dictionaries of *līehtan* as a pers. verb in the sense 'to emit a flash of lightning'.

OE. hit þunrað, 'it thunders'.

OE. *þunrian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to thunder', is, like its etymologically and semasiologically corresponding equivalents: OHG. *donarón*, and OS. *thonoron*, the descendant of the Prim. Teut. denominative verb **þunarōn*, 'to thunder', a derivative of the Prim. Teut. noun **þunara-*, 'thunder' (ON. *Þórr*, the god Thor, OHG. *thonar*, *donir*, OE. *þunor*, 'thunder'). The Prim. Teut. substantive is derived from Prim. Teut. verbal base **þen-*, **þun-*, 'to thunder', from IE. verbal root **(s)ten-*, 'to extend, resound', whence also Sanskr. *tányati*, 'rushes, resounds, thunders', *stanáyati*, 'it thunders', Greek *στένει*, 'groans, roars' (of the sea, etc.), Lat. *tonat*, 'it thunders'.

OE. *þunrian* survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *þunere(n)*, *þondren* (13th cent.), and *thunder*, respectively.

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Examples found: Hi ne wundriaþ, hu hit on wolcnum oft þearle ðunrað, þragmælum eft anforlætæþ: Metra XXVIII 54. — Oððe hwy ne wundriað hi þaes þ hit hwilū þunrað, hwilū na ne onginð? Boethius 126:18. — Tonat— hit ðunrað. Ælfr. Grammar 128. — Seo menio þe þær stod & þ gehyrde sædon þ hyt þunrode. Gosp. John, ch. XII, v. 29, Corp. — On anwardne ger gyf hyt þunrie on sunandæg þonne - - - . De observ. lunæ, Cockayne III 166.

There are several examples of phrases identical in type, in Cockayne III, p. 166 sqq. Also ibidem, De somniorum eventu, p. 180 sqq.

The impersonal expressions referring to *the state of weather in general*, are represented by a single verb: *(ge)widerian*[1]).

OE. hit *(ge)wideraþ, 'it is fine weather'.

OE. *(ge)widerian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to be fine weather', is formed on the noun, Prim. Teut. **wiðrja-* (**weðra-*), 'wind, weather', OE. *(ge)wider*, 'weather (good or bad)', a derivative of the Prim. Teut. verbal base **weþ-*, 'to blow', < IE. verbal root **u̯et-*. This is an extension of the root **u̯ē-*, 'to blow', whence Sanskr. *vā́ti*, *vā́yati*, 'blows', Greek *ἄημι*, 'I blow', OBulg. *vějati*, 'blows'. Cp., from the identical root, ON. *viðra*, 'to blow', and MHG. *witeren*, 'to be (fine or bad) weather'.

The OE. verb did not survive into ME.

Examples found: - - - on længtene eregian & impian, wingeard settan, dician, - - - & raðe æfter ðam, gif hit mot gewiderian, mederan settan, - - -. Lieb. 454, Ger. 12 (960—1060). — Cweðaþ sume men, ðæt se mona hine wende be ðan ðe hit wuderian sceal on ðam monðe. De Temp., Cockayne III 268:2.

(Ge)widerian is exclusively impersonal, to judge from dictionaries.

Subcategory b: *Other natural phenomena.*

The impersonal verbs of this subcategory (v. p. 16, above), are of comparatively rare occurrence, each of them being record-

[1]) As to OE. *sweorcan*, 'to grow dark', from Prim. Teut. verbal base **swerk-*, 'to become overcast', this verb does not occur as an Impersonale, except with the metaphorical import 'to grow dim', (of eyesight). See *him *swiercð*, present chapter, Group 4. p. 40.

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ed once or twice, only. Besides, the impersonal character of several of them is uncertain, in one or two cases even improbable.

The following are the verbs denoting *growth* and *decay in nature: grōwan*, 'to grow', *wealwian*, 'to wither, fade'.

OE. hit grēwð, 'plants, etc., grow'.

OE. *grōwan*, str. verb with an originally reduplicated preterite, 'to grow', had the following etymologically and semantically corresponding counterparts in other Teut. dialects: OFris. *grôwa*, OHG. *gruoan* (etc.), ON. *gróa*. These verbs, OE. *grōwan* included, are the descendants of the Prim. Teut. verb **γrōan*, 'to grow, flourish, be green', from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **γrō-*. According to Fick III, p. 144, Prim. Teut. **γrō-* is perhaps ultimately related to Prim. Teut. **γra-*, originally approximately equivalent to 'to project in a point'.

The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *growe(n)*, *grow*, respectively.

Example found: On lencten hit grewð, & on hærfest hit wealwað. Boethius 49:18.

OE. hit wealwað, 'leaves, etc., wither'.

OE. *wealwian*, wk verb, 'to wither, decay', is a denominative formation from the Prim. Teut. nominal base **walhw-*, **walγʷ-* (NED), whence also OE. *wealg*, adj., 'lukewarm', NE. dial. *wallow*, 'tasteless'.

OE. *wealwian* survived into ME. and NE. ME. *we(o)lewe*, etc., 'to wither', etc., may represent a different ablaut-grade, accord. to NED. NE. *wallow*, 'to wither, fade', etc., is dialectal.

Example found: On lencten hit grewð, & on hærfest hit wealwað. Boethius 49:18.

The following are the verbs denoting perceptions of *sight* and *hearing*: *(ă)hlēoðrian*, 'to (re)sound', *swōgan* (or *swēgan*?), 'to (re)sound', *singan ongēan*, 'to sing (:ring) again' (probably personal).

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OE. hit (ă)hlēoðraþ, 'there is a sound'.

OE. (*ă*)*hlēoðrian*,[1]) denominative wk verb, 'to sound, resound', has the following derivation and related formations: IE. verbal root **klu-*, 'to hear', (whence Sanskr. *çṛṇóti*, 'hears', Greek *κλύω*, 'I hear', Lat. *clueo*, 'I am called'), > Prim. Teut. verbal base **hlu-*, 'to hear', from which base is derived Prim. Teut. **hleuþa-*, adj., 'still, listening', and subst., 'the listening, the keeping silent', whence Goth. *hliuþ*, 'listening, attention, quiet', ON. *hljóðr*, adj., 'still, keeping silent', and *hjlóð*, subst., 'listening, quiet', also 'sound', as well as, ultimately, the denominative verbs, ON. *hljóða*, 'to sound', and *hlýða*, 'to listen'. Another derivation from Prim. Teut. **hlu-* is the noun, Prim. Teut. **hleuþra-*, 'hearing, sound', OE. *hlēoþor*, and OHG. *liodar*, 'sound'. The OE. verb is derived from this substantive.

OE. (*ă*)*hlēoðrian* did not survive into ME.

Examples found: Ac þa gyt on þære ylcan nihte wæs geworden mycel gehlyd on þam hrofe þære ylcan cirican, efne swylce hwylc man urne þær geond dwoliende; þa þære æfterfylgendan nihte aweox þær & bræclade mara sweg & hefegra, swa þæt semninga hit ahleoðrode, swylce eall seo cyrice wære onstyred & toworpen fram þam grundweallum. Dial. Greg. 236:13. — Him þuhte ðæt hit eall ('all the way') betweox heofone and eorþan hleoðrode ðam egeslicum stefnum. Prose Guþlac 5.

The verb *hlēoðrian* in combination with the preposition *tō*(*ward*), occurs as an Impersonale, with a metaphorical import, in the following quotation:

--- ac hit him ne geþafode Godwine eorl, ne ec oþre men þe mycel mihton wealdan, forðan hit hleoðrode þa swiðe toward Haraldes, þeh hit unriht wære. Chron. 158, C (A.D. 1036). Cp.MS.D (p. 159): --- for þan hit hleoþrade swiðe to Haralde, þeah hit unriht wære. The meaning of the phrase clearly is: 'All the people clamoured to get Harold for their king'.

OE. swēgð, 'there is a ringing sound'.

There exist in OE. two cognate verbs, *swōgan* and *swēgan*, of either of which *swēgð* may be the present tense. The verb *swōgan* belongs to the category of verbs with, originally, a reduplicated preterite, and has the significations 'to

[1]) Note that Sweet does not give the compound verb. He evidently considers the letter *ā* to be a detached adverb, = 'ever', not the unemphatic verbal prefix *ā-*, (originally) intensitive in meaning.

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(re)sound, to rush' (of water, etc.); 'to overpower, invade'. The derivative verb ME. *swownen*, 'to swoon', > NE. *swoon*. *Swēgan*, on the other hand, is a weak verb, with the import 'to (re)sound'.

OE. *swōgan*, like OS. *swôgan*, 'to move with a rushing sound', ON. *svagla*, 'to splash', Goth. *gaswōgjan*, *swōgatjan*, 'to sigh', was formed on the Prim. Teut. verbal base **swaγ-*, **swēγ-*, **swōγ-*, 'to resound, to sough', < IE. verbal root *(*s*)*u̯ăgh-*.

The OE. verb *swōgan* survived into ME. and NE. ME. and NE. forms *swoȝen*, etc., and *sough*, respectively.

As to OE. *swēgan*, this is a denominative formation from the noun, OE. *swēg*, 'sound, noise, melody', Prim. Teut. **swōγi-*, 'rushing, roaring', < IE. verbal root *(*s*)*u̯ăgh-*, (from whence also *swōgan*). OE. *swēgan* survived into ME., but not into NE. ME. form *sweȝen*, etc.

Example found: Tinnit—swegð. Ælfr. Grammar 128.

OE. hit *singð ong^{e}an, 'there is a resonance'.

(Uncertain Impersonale).

OE. *singan*, str. verb, 'to sing, resound', etc., had the following etymologically and semasiologically corresponding equivalents: OFris. *sionga*, OS. *singan*, OHG. *singan*, ON. *syngva* (later *syngja*), and Goth. *siggwan*. The OE. verb and its counterparts in the other Teut. dialects, are all derived from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **senγw-*, 'to sing', < IE. verbal root **seng^{u}h-*.

OE. *singan* survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *singe(n)* and *sing*, respectively.

Example found: Man ledde to his breostum brade isene clutas swiðe glowende þæt hit sang ongean. Saints II 436:163.

This most likely is a personal construction, *hit* rather loosely referring to the chest of the man concerned. Cp. Mod. Engl. personal phrases such as 'the wood rang again with his shouts'. The first instance given in NED of a similar verb in combination with the adverb *again* is dated 1561: '---the earth rang again'. (Author. Version).

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Still, it is perhaps not altogether unwarrantable to assume the phrase *hit sang ongēan* in the passage quoted, to be an impersonal formation.

Among verbs denoting *non-descript natural phenomena* I have included the following: *dropian*, 'to drop', *iernan*, 'to flow, run' and *weallan*, 'to boil, to flow'.

OE. hit dropað, 'drops of water fall'.

(Uncertain Impersonale).

OE. *dropian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to drop' (W. Germ. **đropōjan*), is derived from the noun, Prim. Teut. **đrupan*, OE. *dropa*, 'a drop', formed on the Prim. Teut. verbal base **đrup-*, 'to hang down, drip', from IE. verbal root **dhrub-*, **(dhrubh-)*, originally = 'to fall into pieces'? OE. *dropian* is an isolated formation.

The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE., ME. and NE. forms, *droppe*, etc., and *drop*, respectively.

Example found: Oft of þan heuede se wyrsta wæte cumþ to þan toþan on þare gelicnesse þe hyt of huse dropað on stan; þan hyt vinð (: winð) & þone stan þurh þurleþ. *περὶ διδ.*, Cockayne III 104.

The impersonal nature of the phrase *hyt dropað* appears contestable. There certainly is a vague notion of a subject extant here, viz. 'drops of water, moisture', but it is kept almost entirely in the background.

On the other hand, the pronoun *hyt* in the phrase 'hyt vinð & þone stan þurh þurleþ' has a decidedly definite import, since it evidently refers to the falling of the drops.

OE. *iernð, 'there is a flow'.

(Uncertain Impersonale).

OE. *iernan*, str. verb, 'to flow, run', etc. IE. root is doubtful (v. Fick III 17). Prim. Teut. verbal base ***renn-***, 'to rise, run, flow', whence also Goth. *rinnan*, 'to run', ON. *renna*, 'to flow,

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run', OS. and OHG. *rinnan*, 'to flow, swim, run'. OE. *iernan* < **rinnan*, through metathesis.

The OE. verb survived into ME. The ME. verb is met with in the forms *rinnen*, *ernen*, etc.

Example found: Þa getimode hit ymbe twelf monað æfter agathes þrowunge and ethna up ableow swyðe egeslice ontendnysse and arn be þam munte on flodes gelicnysse, and formulton þa stanas, and seo eorðe forbarn, oð þæt hit to þære byrig becom. Saints I 221.

The preterite form *arn* of the passage quoted probably has a definite subject, viz. the lava flowing from the volcano. Cp. e. g. *hit *singð ðngēan*, discussed above. However, an assumption of an impersonal construction does not seem altogether precluded.

OE. *wielð blōd, 'blood flows'.

(Uncertain Impersonale).

OE. *weallan*, str. verb with an originally reduplicated preterite, 'to boil, be hot, flow'. Prim. Teut. verbal base **wel-*, **wal-*, 'to boil, be hot', < IE. verbal root **u̯el-*. Hence also ON. *vella*, 'to bubble', OHG. *wallan*, 'to boil, bubble, rise', etc., OS. *wallan*, OFris. *walla*, 'to boil'.

The OE. verb survived into ME., but not into NE. ME. form *wallen*, etc.

Example found: Hu mon geseah weallan blod of eorþan & rinan meolc of heofonum. Orosius 3:26.

The analysis of the phrase *mon geseah weallan blod* is doubtful. Cp. the discussion of the second part of this passage, p. 19 above. The two phrases are evidently analogous.

The last small group of Impersonalia of subcategory b comprises, as we have said above (p. 16), the expressions for some conditions of *light* and *darkness* caused by the movements of the sun. The following are the verbs belonging here: *frumliehtan*, 'to dawn, *lēohtian*, 'to dawn, become light', and *dagian*, 'to dawn, become, be day'.

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OE. hit *frumlīeht, 'it dawns'.

OE. *frumlīehtan*, a composite wk verb, 'to dawn', is made up of the prefixed element *frum-* 'first', and the simple verb *līehtan*, 'to shine', < Prim. Teut. **leuhtjan*, 'to shine', < Prim. Teut. subst. **leuhta-*, 'a light'; v. OE. *hit līeht*, 'it lightens', p. 22, identical as to construction and etymology, though with a specialized import.

The same prefixed element occurs in a great many OE. compound nouns such as *frumlēoht*, 'first light', *frumieldo*, 'first age', *frumscyld*, 'original sin', etc. We may compare e. g. Lat. *primipara*, 'woman who bears for the first time', Goth. *frumabaúr*, 'first-born', ON. *frumburðr*, 'first childbirth', etc. Examples of such nominal compositions abound in ON. and OE.

There also occur some instances of adjectives, originally past participles, composed in the identical manner, such as Lat. *primogenitus*, ON. *frumgetinn*, OE. *frumcenned*, 'first-born', and ON. *frumskapaðr*, OE. *frumsceapen*, 'first-created'. Note also the OE. noun *frumscieppend*, 'creator'.

On the other hand, OE. *frumlīehtan* appears to be the only existing example of a verb of this type in the languages mentioned, unless we may suppose the existence of the adjectives, originally participles, adduced above, to indicate also the occurrence of corresponding finite verbs.

Whether such possibly existing composite verbs, corresponding to the nouns mentioned, should be considered as prior to the latter, may be doubtful. In the case of the OE. verb *frumlīehtan*, however, it would hardly seem to admit of any doubt that the noun is the primary word, from which the verb was formed. The OE. verb did not survive into ME.

Example found: Ac on dægred siþþan hit frumlyhte, hie þyder wendon. Blickl. Hom. 207.

Frumlīehtan is not annotated as occurring in personal use.

OE. hit *lēohtað, 'it becomes light, it dawns.'

OE. *lēohtian*, wk verb, 'to become light, to dawn', is a denominative formation on, ultimately, the Prim. Teut. verbal base **leuh-*. (v. *līehtan*, p. 22). It did not survive into ME.

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Example found: Þa soðlice in ða dagunge, þa þa hit ærest leohtode, Arrianus se gedwolbiscop com. Dial. Greg. 234:21.

OE. hit *dagað, 'it dawns, it becomes, is day'.

OE. *dagian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to dawn, become, be day'. The ultimate etymology of this verb is uncertain (v. Fick III, p. 199). The IE. root from which are derived OE. *dagian* and the other, cognate, Teut nominal and verbal formations (v. below), may, according to Fick, be contained either in Sanskr. *dáhati*, 'burns', or in Sanskr. *áhar*, 'a day'.

From this uncertain IE. root derives the Prim. Teut. noun **đaγa-*, 'a day' (Goth. *dags*, etc.), on which was formed the Prim. Teut. verb **đaγōn, -ēn*, 'to dawn', whence ON. *daga*, OHG. *tagên*, as well as the OE. verb, all with the sense 'to dawn', etc., as above.

OE. *dagian* survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *daʒ(i)en, daw(i)e(n)*, and *daw*, respectively. NE. *daw* is obsolete, except in Scotch. The latest example recorded in NED of the verb as an Impersonale is from c. 1480.

Examples found: Sona on morne, swa hit dagian ongan, - - -. Bede 154:34. — Þa hit dagian ongan, - - -. ibid. 174:12. On pages 286, l. 22; 288, l. 10, there are examples of identical aspect and import (cp. the version of the Latin original: incipiente aurora, etc.). — Mid þam þe hit dagode and man drihtnes lofsang ongan, þa - - -. Saints I 452:172. — On ðam ylcan earde norðeweardan beoð leohte nihta on sumera swylce hit ealle niht dagige swa swa we sylfe foroft gesawon. De Temp., Cockayne III 260. — Genim þonne on niht ær hyt dagige feower - - -. Charms, Cockayne I 398. — Þonne hit dagian wolde, þonne to glad hit (:wolcen). Chron. 122 C (A. D. 979). — On morgne, mid þy hit dagode, þa - - -. Epist. Alex. 165:714.

In some of the above passages, the verb clearly has an import bordering on that of the verbs implying *specifications of time*, i. e. it means 'daytime appears' (v. p. 35 below).

A very old and interesting, and, to judge from dictionaries, the only extant, example of the verb *dagian* as a personal verb may be quoted in this connection. It occurs in the poem on the Battle of Finnsborough, l. 4 (ed. Holthausen, Beowulf, etc., p. 104) and reads as follows: 'Ne ðis ne dagað eastan, ne her draca ne fleogeð, - - -', 'what you see, (says the king), is not the dawn - - -.'

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Group 2: Expressions for various specifications of time.

The Impersonalia of this group may be aptly divided into the following semantic subcategories, according to the nature of the time referred to:

a. expressions denoting *time in general;*

b. expressions denoting *seasons, religious festivals;*

c. expressions denoting the *time of the day.*

There are but few verbs of material import appertaining to the present category. They are enumerated here in alphabetical order (independently of the subcategories mentioned):

ǣfenlǣcan, ǣfnian, cuman (*tō*), *ferian,* (*ge*)*nēalǣcan, sumorlǣcan, winterlǣcan,* and *þringan* (*nēah*).[1])

Of these verbs, (*ge*)*nēalǣcan* is pretty frequently recorded as an Impersonale, while the others occur each a couple of times, or once, only.

The import in some instances borders on that of verbs belonging to the first group. Cp. *dagian,* above.

Subcategory a: *expressions denoting time in general.*

OE. hit cymð tō - - -, 'the times comes for - - -'.[2])

OE. *cuman,* str. verb, 'to come'. IE. verbal root **gu̯ em-*, 'to go, come', whence Sanskr. *gámati,* 'goes', O. Bactr. *jamaiti,* 'goes', Greek *βαίνω,* 'I go'. This root forms the base also of Prim. Teut. verb **ku̯eman,* **kuman,* 'to come', whence Goth. *qiman,* ON. *koma,* OHG. *queman, cuman,* etc., OFris. *kuma, koma,* and OE. *cuman,* all with the import 'to come'.

OE. *cuman* >ME. *cumen,* NE. *come.*

Examples found: Gyf þ getimie þ is eallum mannum gemære þ se abbud gewite of þissum life & hit cume þærto þ hi beon cyres wyrþe, na awende man - - -.

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[1]) The function of some of these verbs approximates to that of a copula. This is conspicuous e. g. in the following passage: 'Þære tide ys mid niðum neah geþrungen, þe we life sculon losian' (Judith 286): or in this: 'Sona swa hit com to þam Eastron, þa ferdon hi - - -', (Chron.223, E, [A. D. 1087]), in which sentences the material import of the impersonal verbs has faded away almost entirely.

[2]) Cp. the similar constructions met with in subcategories b and c, of this group, as well as those occurring in groups *3* and *6* (v. pp. 35 and 70, present chapter).

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Cart. Sax. I 153 (A. D. 701). Cp. the Lat. version: Si autem - - -, et ad electionem alterius fuerit ventum, - - -. — And he þeah, swa hit mæð wæs, fægere forðwerd, swa þæt hit com to ðam, þa he þære ylde wæs, þæt he geceas him leorningcnihtas. Wulfstan. 17:9.

OE. hit *fereþ tō - - -, 'it draws on towards - - -'.

OE. *ferian*, wk verb, 'to go, depart; to carry, convey', etc. Prim. Teut. verbal base **fer-*, **far-*, 'to go', whence (**faran*, 'to go', and) **farjan*, **farjōn*, 'to ferry', the prototypes of Goth. *farjan*, ON. *ferja*, OHG. *fer(j)en*, OS. *ferian*, all = 'to ferry'. From ultimately the same IE. root are derived e. g. Sanskr. *piparti*, 'conveys across', Lat. *portare*, 'to carry'.

OE. *ferian* > ME. *ferien*, NE. *ferry*.

Example found: Hit wæs þa fergende to his ænde. Dial. Greg. 276:13.

OE. hit (ge)nēalæc(e)ð, 'it approaches, draws near'.

OE. *(ge)nēalǣcan*, 'to approach', a composite wk verb, is made up of the adverb *nēah*, 'near', and the verbal suffix *-lǣcan*, met with also in the verb *winterlǣcan*, as well as in a great many other compound verbs (v. *winterlǣcan*, p. 17 above). The same formation is present in MLG. *nâleken*, 'to approach', whence, according to Hellquist,[1]) OSwed. *nalka*, *nalkas*, NSwed. *nalkas*, 'to approach'.

OE. *(ge)nēalǣcan* survived into ME., but not into NE. Latest instance in NED, of ME. *nehlechen*, etc., is dated 1275, but here the verb is personal.

This OE. Impersonale is constructed either with a dative or with a prepositional phrase, consisting of the prep. *tō* + a dative.

Examples found: Hit nealæhte þara forðfore, þe þær gecigde wæron. Dial. Greg. 52:33, MS. C. Cp. H:Nealaehte þara forðsið, þe - - - (i. e. a personal construction). — Se ealda fæder wæs mid feferadle geswænced, & hit nealæhte his ænde. ibid. 226:1. — - - - cwæð, þæt nealæcendum his ænde hine gestode seo an hefigesta mettrumnes. ibid. 277:18 (possibly personal). — Soðlice þa þa hit nealæhte þære tide his deaþes, - - - 301:23. — þa þa hit nealæhte þæs deaðe, he - - -. ibid. 307:2. A similar instance, ibid. 325:26. — Ona[2]) þa ðæm dæge nealæhte hire gecegnesse of þissum life, þa - - -. Bede 172:30. Cp. Hist. Eccl. (Plummer, p. 143): Immi-

[1]) Elof Hellquist, Svensk Etymol. Ordbok, Lund 1922.

[2]) Ona = & þa? Cp. EETS 110, 111, p. 181.

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nente ergo die suæ uocationis. A similar example, ibid. 346:22. — Mid þy þe hit nealæhte þære tide, - - -. — Blickl. Hom. 15. — Hit nu swiþe nealæceþ urum ende-dæge. ibid. 51. A similar example, ibid. 77. — Mitte-þe hit þa þære eadegan tide nealæhte, þæt-te - - -. Verc. Hom. 96:20. — Ðis sindon þa fore-tacnu to þam dagum, þe hit nealæceð to Antecristes cyme. ibid. 120:12. — Nu nealæceð ure endedæge. ibid. 123:8. — Hit to ðam dome nu georne nealæcð, þe he self to cymð. Wulfstan 18:14. A similar example, ibid. 25:9. — We witan to soðe þæt hit þærto georne nealæcð. ibid. 18:17. — Nu sceal hit nyde yfeljan swyðe, forðam þe hit nealæcð georne his timan. ibid. 83:3. — Hit nealæcð þam ende. ibid. 156:5. — We witan to soðe, þæt hit þærto georne genealæcð. ibid. 273:2.

As hinted already, some of the passages quoted probably contain personal constructions. An example of undoubtedly personal character has been given already: 'Nealæhte þara forðsið.' (Dial. Greg. 52:33, MS. H). Other instances are e. g.: 'He nealæhte þam dæge his forðsiþes.' ibid. 298:26. — 'Se dæg genealæhte.' Aelfr. Hom. I 602.

With respect to existing complex sentences of the type: (*hit*) (*ge-*)*nēalǣc(e)þ þæt* - - -, see section B, p. 126.

OE. *þringð nēah, 'it draws near'.

OE. *þringan*, str. verb, 'to press on, make one's way', etc. IE. verbal root **trenk-*, whence Prim. Teut. **þrenh-*, **þrenyw-*, 'to press', which forms the base of the Prim. Teut. verb **þrenhan*, or **þreny(w)an*, 'to press'. From this verb: Goth. *þreihan*, ON. *þryngva*, OHG. *dringan*, OS. *thringan*, as well as OE. *þringan*, all with the sense 'to press', etc.

OE. *þringan* > ME. *þringen*, 'to throng, press', NE. *thring*, obsol.

Examples found: Þære tide is neah geþrungen. Genesis A 2508. — Her ys - - - toweard getacnod, þæt þære tide ys mid niðum neah geðrungen, þe we life sculon losian. Judith 286.

Subcategory b: *expressions referring to seasons or religious festivals.*

OE. hit cymð tō - - -, 'the time (of some religious festival) is at hand'.

See analogous constructions in subcat.s *a* and *c*.

Example found: Sona swa hit com to þam Eastron, þa ferdon hi - - -. Chron. 223 E (A.D. 1087).

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OE hit (ge)nēalǣc(e)þ, 'it is drawing near'.

See analogous constructions in subcat. *a*.

Example found: Gineolicod wæs eostrum. Gosp. John, ch. II, v. 13, Ru.

OE. hit sumorlǣc(e)ð, 'it draws on towards summer' i hit winterlǣc(e)ð, 'it draws on towards winter'.[1])

OE. *sumorlǣcan* and *winterlǣcan*, 'to draw on towards summer, and winter', respectively, compound wk verbs, are made up of the OE. nouns *sumor* and *winter* and the verbal suffix *-lǣcan*. See p. 17 above.

Neither of these verbs survived into ME.

Examples found: Þonne wite ge þæt hit sumorlæhþ. Ælfr. Hom. I 614. — Þa hit winter leohte, þa ferde se fyrd ham. Chron. 136 E (A. D. 1006).

Subcategory c: *expressions denoting different times of the day.*

OE hit æfenlǣc(e)ð, 'evening sets in'.

OE. *æfenlǣcan*, 'to become evening', compound wk verb, is composed of the noun, OE. *æfen*, 'evening', and the suffix *-lǣcan*. See *winterlǣcan*, p. 17, above. No analogous formations appear to exist in the cognate Teut. languages.

The OE. verb did not survive into ME.

Examples found: Wuna mid unc forþam þe hit æfenlæcð. Gosp. Luke, ch. XXIV, v. 29, Corp. Cp. Li.: - - - forðon þ efternlocað, and Ru.: - - - forðon efern longeð. Evidently false renderings of the Lat. version: quoniam aduesperascit. As regards Li., BTS says: 'The glosser seems to have read: uesper aspicit.'

OE. hit *æfnað, 'evening sets in'.

OE. *æfnian*, 'to become evening', denominative wk verb, < Prim. Teut. **æbinjo-*, **æbunjo-*, 'evening' (OE. *æfen*, *efen*, 'evening'). Cp. the OHG. verb *âbandên*, with the same import as the OE. verb, < Prim. Teut. **æbanđo-*, 'evening'. As to ON. *aptna*, v. Fick III, p. 560.

[1]) Observe that dictionaries do not give this import. Cp. *hit winterlǣc(e)ð* with the sense: 'wintry weather is setting in', p. 17 above.

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OE. *æfnian* did not survive into ME.

Examples found: Hur (:personal name) heold þa oðre (sc. hand), oþþæt hit æfnode. Saints I 284:27. — Heo (:seo sunne) hwonlice undergæð þære eorðan geendunge, swylce hit æfnige. De Temp., Cockayne III 260:7.

OE. hit cymð tō---, 'it draws on towards---' or 'the time (of night, etc.,) sets in.'

See analogous constructions in subcategories *a* and *b*, as well as in Group 3.

Example found: Ic on myne gebedu feng & hig georne sang, oð hyt to þære myddere nyhte com. Evang. Nic. 492:12.

It has been pointed out already, that, in a few instances, the sense of the impersonal phrase *hit dagaþ* may be said to verge upon the import 'day-time appears'. See p. 30, above.

OE. hit (ge)nēalæc(e)ð, 'it draws near'.

Concerning the etymology of the verb *(ge)nēalæcan*, 'to approach', v. p. 32 above. It is here employed in conjunction with a dative, denoting the specific *time of the day*.

Examples found: Ac ðonne hit nealæcð dæge, ðonne singð he (:the cock) smælor. Past. Care 461:3. — And sunne heo þa to setle ahylde and þære æfenrepsunge genealæhte. Saints II 34:499. — Mid þy hit æfenne nealæhte, ða---. Epist. Alex. 159:535.

Group 3: Expressions denoting some specification of locality.

The impersonal verbs which concern us here, are only three in number, viz. *cuman*, *becuman*, and *gegān*, nor are they frequently recorded in impersonal use. Moreover, the impersonal character of one of them, *gegān*, is doubtful.

OE hit cymð + a prepositional phrase, 'one arrives at'.

The etymology of *cuman* has been given on p. 31 above.

Example found: On þisum geare com Melcolm cyng of Scotlande into Engle lande betwyx þam twam Mariam mæssan mid mycelum fyrde & ge hergode Norð hymbra land, oð hit com to Tine: (:as far as the Tyne). Chron. 213, E (A. D. 1079).

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In the Anglo-Saxon landcharters there occur some cases of *hit cymð tō* (or other prep.) - - -, where this phrase has, to all appearance, acquired an impersonal character, originally not belonging to it. Relevant instances of *cuman* in clearly personal constructions abound. The passages which concern us here, all imply a specification of the boundaries of lands left by will or presented as gifts, etc.

As an example: Istis terminibus terra circumgyrata esse videtur. Ærest up of noddre staþe on easte weardne hunda ham.- - - Þonon of þam hlince to þam beorge to Ælfredes landscare. Þonne is hit þær feower furlanga brad - - -. Þonne gæð hit þær niþer be- - -, & þonon niþer oþ þæt hit cumð in on noddre. Cart. however, Sax. II 547 (A. D. 944).[1])

Cp. the following charter, written in Latin, which also shows the usual personal construction:

Hæc enim sunt nomina finium terrarum ad supradictum villam adjacentium. Primus de Tamede muthan recto curso in Oswynna bæce, deinde in Wuda mor, sic extenditur in Wætansic, - - - et ex illo loco recta occidentis semita in illam dic, sicque protenditur in - - -. Deinde in S. . . , sic extenditur in locum dictum eclesbroc, qui terminus adjacet in doferic usque ad sæferne, quod transit in ore Temede. ibid. I 307 (c. 760).

Similar OE. and Latin passages might be quoted almost *ad infinitum*. The personal character of the phrase *hit cymð* as occurring in such quotations as the above, as well as of the corresponding Latin phrases, would seem to admit of no doubt whatever. The subject of the verb is the territory in question.

Matters stand differently, without doubt, with respect to some comparatively much rarer cases where the phrase *hit cymð* appears to function as an Impersonale, equivalent to: 'one, etc., reaches'.

As examples: His limitibus hoc rus circumdatur - - -. Þis sind þa wic, ðe hyrað þer to. Ærest æt ticcenesfelda wicum, swa norð &lang hagan þæt[2]) man cymð to fearburnan, þæt forð to - - -, swa suð þonan oð hit cymð to - - -. Cart. Sax. II 304 (A.D. 909). — Prædicta siquidem tellus his terminis circumcincta claresci: Ærest of Swæðelingforda west to Smerebrocesforda, and þanon westweard andlang herepaðes to - - -, and swa forth andlange weges on suþhealfe gætes hlæwe þæt hit cymþ to feower treowum, and swa forð andlang weges oþ hit cymþ to

[1]) The dates of issuing given are those stated by Birch and Kemble. According to Napier and Stevenson, Anecdota Oxon. VII, 113, these statements are, however, not always reliable.

[2]) *Þæt* here appears to stand for: *oþ þæt* - - -. Cp. e. g. Cart. Sax. III 84: - - - and swa forð andlang weges oð þat hit cymð to - - -, ðonne bebyhð hit ðone garan utan, oð þat hit cymð to - - -. (v. Anecdota Oxon. VII, p. 113).

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fearnbedde - - -, þon swa Icenan scyt, oþ hit cymð foran - - -. ibid. II 386 (A.D. 932).

The phrase *hit cymð* of the above passages seems to have deteriorated into a mere formula, in which the pronoun *hit* no longer refers to the territory in question, as is the case in the vast majority of similar passages.

This is particularly conspicuous as regards the second quotation, if we compare the Latin and later English versions of the same charter. The former runs as follows:

- - - quousque *perveniatur* ad limitem quatuor arborum magnarum, - - - quousque *perveniatur* ad terminum vocatum Fearnbedd, - - - et tunc secundum quod Ichene demonstrat, quousque *perveniatur* iterum ante terminum vocitatum - - -.

In the ME. rendering we find, instead of the impersonal passive forms of the Latin version, personal constructions (except at the end of the passage, where the presumably impersonal phrase is retained):

- - - for to *thu comyst* to the fowr grete trees - - -, forto *me comyth* to Fearnbedd - - -, than as Ichen goth for to *hit comyth* byfore - - -.

The fact that the probably contemporary Latin version has impersonal constructions, and that the ME. sentences have the pronouns *thu* and *me* (:man) for their subjects, instead of *it*, referring to the territory in question, unmistakably points to the conclusion that here the assumed original import of *hit cymð* had become lost. The impersonal character of the first OE. passage quoted (Cart. Sax. II 304) is clearly not equally incontestable.

OE. hit *becymð tō - - -, 'one reaches - - -.'

See the etymology of the simple verb *cuman*, p. 31 above. Corresponding formations to OE. *becuman* are: Goth. *biqiman*, 'to fall upon', and OHG. *biqueman*, 'to come', etc.

The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *bicumen*, etc., and *become*, respectively.

Examples found: Man him rædde þa fela þæs þe gefyrn gelamp, oð ðæt hit becom þærto, hu his burcnihtas woldon hine sylfne amyrran. Ælfr. Be Hester 98. Cp. the version of Biblia sacra vulgatæ editionis: Noctem illam duxit rex insomnem, iussitque sibi afferri historias et annales priorum temporum. Quæ cum illo præsente legerentur, ventum est ad illum locum, ubi scriptum erat quomodo - - -.

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OE. hit *gegǣð tō - - -, 'one goes, proceeds to - - -.'

(Uncertain Impersonale).

OE. *gegān*, a verb in *-mi*, 'to go, proceed'. IE. verbal root **ĝhē-*, whence Prim. Teut. **yæ-*, 'to go'. From this base are derived the verbs: ODan., and OSwed. *gá*, OHG. *gān*, *gigān*, all = 'to go'; further OS. **-gân* in *fulgân*, 'to accomplish', OFris. 3rd person sg., pres. tense, *gâth*, *geith*, 'goes', and OE. *gegān*, ME. *igon*. Latest record given by NED of the ME. verb is dated 1225.

Examples found: And gif hit þonne to bote gega, & se cyngc þæt geðafige, þonne bete man - - -. Lieb 263, VIII Atr. 3 (A. D. 1014). Similar phrase ibid. 282, I Cn. 2.5 (c. 1030). Cp. the version of Quadripartitus, which according to Lieb. III, Einleitung, Erklärungen, is a translation from the Anglo-Sax. original: Si tunc ad emendationem ueniat, et rex - - -.

These may be personal constructions, the case in question, or some kindred notion, constituting the subject of the sentences. However, an assumption of impersonal structures does not seem precluded either. In this latter case, the import is: 'if then the sentence is for a pecuniary penalty, - - -.'

Group 4: Expressions denoting physical and mental affections.

Preliminary remarks.

Before entering upon a descriptive review of the OE. Impersonalia belonging here, it is suitable in this place to point out some peculiar features that characterize a great many of them. These characteristic qualities are, however, not the exclusive property of the impersonal expressions of Group 4, since they are shared also by some of Group 5 (including Impersonalia denoting some manifestation of *mental activity*), and Group 6 (Impersonalia referring to *the course of events, the state of things*). Also by some passive impersonal constructions, which latter category does not fall within the scope of the present treatise.

One characteristic quality is that these impersonal expressions are often met with in conjunction with a (pro)noun in *the accusative* (or, later, *the dative;* see ch. II, p. 175), indicating the

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person whom the affection stimulates: *hine*[1]) (*him*) *cælð*, 'he is cold', *hine* (*him*) (*ge*)*mæteð*, 'he dreams'.[2])

Another characteristic is the almost uniform absence of the formal subject *hit*. This fact no doubt is in accordance with a universal rule, not applicable to OE. only, nor to the OE. Impersonalia alluded to, either, viz. to leave out this formal word when the sentence contains the expression for *the person* affected by the activity implied in the verb, in the shape of *a* (*pro*)*noun in an oblique case*. As hinted, there are exceptions to this rule. (v. the examples quoted).

A third distinctive feature is that *the stimulus*, or *cause, of the verbal action*, or, if we so will, *the thing*, etc., *in respect of which the verbal action is true* (when given), is expressed in OE., as well as in older or contemporary IE. languages, by either *a* (*pro*)*noun* in *the genit.*, or else by means of *a prepositional phrase*. As examples: Lat. *poenitet me* + *genit. rei*, 'I repent of something', OHG. *mih niotôt* + *genit. rei*, 'me delectat', OE. *hine* (*ge*)*twēoð* + *genit rei*, 'doubt takes hold of him as to something' (= Mod. Engl. 'he doubts something'), OE. *hine onhagað tō* + *dat. rei*, 'inclination takes hold of him in respect of - - -' (= Mod. Engl. 'he feels inclined towards - - -'), etc. (v. ch. II, p. 182).

Some verbs belonging to Groups 4 and 5, such as *hyngr*(*i*)*an* and *þyrstan* are met with in OE. already, also in personal sentences of the aspect: *Ic hyngre*, *Ic þyrste*, whereas other verbs (unless they died out in early ME.) do not until ME. times adopt such constructions. To this latter category belong e. g. the verbs (*ge*)*lystan*, and (*ge*)*mætan*. For an exhaustive account of this feature, v. van der Gaaf, o. c.

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[1]) For practical reasons, here, and on the pages that follow, I make use of the third person sg. of the pers. pronoun, in order to indicate the case in which this member of the phrase occurs, with the respective verbs.

[2]) It very often happens that the form of pronouns occurring in the quotations gives us no clue for deciding what case they represent. Whenever there are clear indications in some records of acc. forms, and other instances of the same Impersonale contain *mē*, or *þē*, etc., while unambiguous dativ forms are lacking, we shall assume *mē*, *þē*, etc., to be accusatives, too. And vice versa, in case the same verb occurs in conjunction with, now *mē*, *þē*, etc., now clear dativ forms.

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After these preliminary remarks, let us now consider the Impersonalia of Group 4 from a descriptive point of view.

This group, comprising the two subcategories: *physical* and *mental affections*, musters a comparatively considerable array of impersonal verbs, amounting, all told, to some 16 unquestionable cases, besides some doubtful constructions.

Subcategory a: *Physical affections.*

We find the following OE. *verba sensuum* with impersonal constructions: *calan, sweorcan, turnian abūtan, acan, sūgan, hyngr(i)an* and *þyrstan*. Of these, *hyngr(i)an* and *þyrstan* are copiously represented as Impersonalia. The impersonal character of one of the verbs, viz. *acan*, is questionable.

OE. hine (him) cælð, 'cold takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he is cold').

OE. *calan*, str. verb with an originally reduplicated preterite, 'to be cold', ultimately from the IE. verbal root **gelā-*, 'to freeze' (whence Lat. *gelare*, 'to freeze'), Prim. Teut. **kal-*, 'to be cold, to freeze', which forms the base of the Prim. Teut verb **kal-an*, the prototype of ON. *kala*, as well as of the OE. verb, all = 'to be cold, to freeze'.

The simple verb *calan* appears not to have survived into ME. Cp. the ME. verb *acalen*, 'to grow cold', which died out in ME.

Examples found: Hwæðer þa welegan nu næfre ne hingrige, ne ne þyrste, ne ne (cale? Ic wene) þeah þ - - -. Boethius 60:11. — Ðonne him cælð, he cerð[1]) him hlywðe. Hexam. 26.

In the first passage quoted, the gap in the MS. has been filled by the editor.

OE. him *swiercð, 'darkness falls upon him, his eyes grow dim.'

OE. *sweorcan*, str. verb, 'to become dark', is derived from Prim. Teut. verbal base **swerk-*, 'to darken, become overcast',

[1]) The form *cerð* is doubtful. The editor of the Hexameron translates: 'murmurs for sustenance'. BT suggests *cepð*, instead of *cerð*, i. e. the import is assumed to be: 'betakes himself to shelter' (*:cepan*).

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on which base was formed the Prim. Teut. verb **swerkan*, the prototype of OS. *swercan*, OHG. *swercan*, as well as of the OE. verb, all = 'to grow dark', etc.

The OE. verb survived into ME. The latest example given by NED of ME. *swerken* bears date 1205 (from Layamon) and is a personal construction.

Example found: Forþan þonne se man sceal sweltan, þonne swyrceð him fram þæs huses hrofe, ðe he inne bið. Verc. Hom. 108:1.

OE. hit *turneþ abūtan his hēafod, 'he feels giddy'.

OE. *turnian, tyrnan*, 'to turn', wk verbs, according to NED. adaptations of Lat. *tornare*, 'to turn in a lathe, round off'. OE. *turnian*, ME. *turnen*, NE. *turn*.

Example found: Þis ys se læcecræft be þan manne þat hym þingþ þ hyt turnge abotan hys heafod. *περὶ διδ.*, Cockayne III 90.

The OE. phrase *turnian abūtan* is not annotated as trans. in NED. Cp. intrans., pers. constructions such as 'seo firmamentum - - - turneþ abutan'. De Temp., Cockayne III 254.

OE. hine (him) *æc(e)þ, 'he feels pain'.

(Uncertain Impersonale).

OE. *acan*[1]), str. verb, 'to ache', from Prim. Teut. verbal base **ak-*, 'to ache'. Hence also NLG. *äken*, of the same sense. The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *aken* and *ache*, respectively.

Examples found: Wiþ þon þe mon on heafod ace. Læceboc, Cockayne II 304. — Ic binne awrat betest beado wræda swa benne ne burnon ne burston ne fundian ne feologan, ne hoppetan ne wund waco sian, ne dolh diopian, ac him self healde hale wæge, ne ace þe þon ma þe eorþan on eare ace. Sing þis manegum siþum. ibid. II 352.

It seems hardly possible to decide whether the construction of the verb *acan* is personal or impersonal here. As regards the former of the two passages, the assumption of a personal construction, a forerunner of Mod. Engl. phrases such as 'I ache all over', is preferable no doubt. Still, it does not appear altogether out of the question to consider the word *mon* an indeclinable pronoun in the dative or accusative.

[1]) Present tense recorded, only. See Sievers, § 392, Anm. 1.

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As seen from the context, the second quotation forms part of a charm to be sung many times, over some wounds. It is undoubtedly possible to take the notion of these wounds as constituting the grammatical subject of the verb. The latter part of the same quotation contains an example of such a personal construction. Another instance is: 'Gif mannes midrif ace'. Herbar. of Apul., Cockayne I 88. This second kind of personal construction is evidently the predecessor of Mod. Engl. 'my feet ache'.

OE. him sūgeð [1]).

OE. *sūgan*, str. verb, 'to suck', is derived ultimately from IE. verbal root **seuq-*, 'to suck' (an extension of IE. root **seu-*, **su-*, met with e. g. in Sanskr. *sunóti*, 'squeezes out', and Greek *ὗει*, 'it rains'; v. Walde, s. v. *sūcus*), whence the Prim. Teut. verb **seuyan*, **sūyan*, 'to suck', of which ON. *súga*, OHG. *sûgan*, OS. *sûgan*, as well as the OE. verb, all with the import 'to suck', are the descendants.

OE. *sūgan* did not survive into ME.

Example found: Wiþ þæs magan springe þonne þurh muþ bitere hræcð oþþe bealcet oððe him on þam magan sugeð. Læceboc, Cockayne II 192.

BT translates, no doubt correctly, the latter part of this passage thus: 'when it is in his stomach, as if it were sucked in'.

OE. hine (him) hyngreð, -að,[2]) 'hunger takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he is hungry').

OE. *hyngran*, later *hyngrian* (v. Sievers, § 404 Anm. 1 c), wk verb, 'to be hungry', like its exact counterparts in other Teut. dialects: Goth. *huggrjan*, OS. *gihungrjan*, 'to be hungry', is a denominative formation, shaped on the substantive, Prim. Teut. **hunhru-*, **hunyru-*, 'hunger', OE. *hungor*, NE. *hunger*. Cp. the likewise denominative verbs, ON. *hungra*, OHG. *hungarôn*, OFris. *hungera*, with the same import, but belonging to a class of wk verbs other than that of the OE. verb. The Prim. Teut. noun was formed on the Prim. Teut. verbal base **henh-*, etc., 'to

[1]) As to the import of this phrase, v. translation of the quotation given.

[2]) In Li. one or two instances of *hine gehyngreð* occur.

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torment'. The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE. ME. and NE. forms: *hungren*, etc., and *hunger*, respectively.

Examples found: Hi (:the saint) næfre hingrede ne ne þyrste. Martyr. 126:21. — Þa hingrede hine. Dial. Greg. 106:32. — Hwæðer þa welegan nu næfre ne (hingrige[1]), ne ne þyrste, - - -. Boethius 60:10. — Me hyngrede. Past. Care 329: 2 and 3. Similar examples occur: Bede 80:1; Blickl. Hom. 27; ibid. 39. — Drihten ealle þa gefylde on heofona wuldres fægernesse þa þe hie on eorþan leton hingrian (& þyrstan) [1] for his naman. ibid. 159. — Ac siððan him hingrode. Ælfr. Hom. I 166. — Eft, ðaða Crist hingrode æfter swa langum fyrste, - - -. ibid. 168 (uncertain Impersonale). — Hwi hingrað þe? ibid. 168. — Him nan ðing (: not at all) ne hingrode. ibid. 168 — Eft, ða ða him hingrode, - - -. ibid. 178. Similar examples occur: ibid. 336; II 36; 108. — Gif ðinum fynd hingrige, fed hine. Saints I 464: 375. — Ðonne him hingrað, he yt grædilice. Hexam. 26. — Þa þæt folc hingrode, þa - - -. Ælfr. Genesis, ch. XLI, v. 55 (uncertain Impersonale). — Hine þyrste hwylum and hwylum hingrode. Wulfstan 17:4. Similar instances occur: ibid. 288:14 and 31; Gosp. Matth., ch. IV, v. 2, Corp.; ch. XII, v. 1, Corp.; v. 3, Corp.; ch. XXI, v. 18, Corp.; ch. XXV, v. 35, Corp.; v. 42, Corp.; Gosp. Mark, ch. II, v. 25, Corp.; Gosp. Luke, ch. IV, v. 2, Corp.; ch. VI, v. 3, Corp.; Gosp. John, ch. VI, v. 35, Corp.; Eccles. Inst., Thorpe II 428; Harrow. Hell 613.

As intimated already, some of the examples found are not clear as to their nature. Thus the quotations from Ælfr. Hom. I 168: 'Eft, ðaða Crist hingrode - - -', and from Ælfr. Genesis, ch. XLI, v. 55: 'Þa þæt folc hingrode - - -', may very well be considered as personal constructions with a nom. personæ for their subject. Cp. unmistakably personal formations such as: 'Eadige synt þa þe rihtwisnesse hingriað & þyrstað'. Gosp. Matth., ch. V, v. 6, Corp.

OE. hine (him) þyrst(eð), 'thirst takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he is thirsty').

OE. *þyrstan*, denominative wk verb, 'to be thirsty', is derived, ultimately, from the IE. verbal root **tṛs-*, whence also Sanskr. *tṛšyati*, 'is thirsty'. This IE. root > Prim. Teut. verbal base **þurs-*, 'to be dry', whence the Goth. verb *þaúrsjan*, 'to be thirsty'. From the identical Prim. Teut. base is derived the Prim. Teut. subst. **þursta-*, 'thirst', whence OE. *þurst*, of the same import, etc. On this Prim. Teut. noun was formed the Prim. Teut. verb **þurstjan*, 'to be thirsty', whence ON. *þyrsta*,

[1]) Inserted by editor.

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OHG. *dursten*, OS. *thurstjan*, as well as the OE. verb, all with the same import.

OE. *þyrstan* > ME. *thirsten*, NE. *thirst*. The last instance of this verb in impersonal use annotated by NED, bears date 1440.

Examples found: Þa sæde he, þæt hine þyrste. Martyr. 42:6. A similar example ibid. 126:21. — Soþlice swa me þæs godan weres wundor habbað geblissod, þæt swa ic swyþor drince, swa me swyþor þyrsteð. Dial. Greg. 116:22. MS. C. Cp. H: Soðlice swa ic þæs godan weres wundra ma drinke swa me hyra swyðor þyrsteð. — Her aspringeþ seo feorðe yð ðære hluttran burnan of ðam muðe þæs æþelan lareowes, of þære þa(m)[1] þe þyrsteþ & lysteð magon drincan. ibid. 260:2. A similar example occurs Boethius 60:10. — Þeah ðæt folc ðyrste ðære lare, - - -. Past. Care 30:7 (uncertain Impersonale). — Me ðyrste. ibid. 329:3. — Cwæð þæt hiene þyrste. Bede 398:2. Similar examples occur: Blickl. Hom. 159; Ælfr. Hom. I 336; II 108. — Gif him þyrste, ðu do him drincan. Saints I 464:375. — Eft ðonne him ðyrst, he drincð. Hexam. 26. Similar examples occur: Wulfstan 17:4; ibid. 228:14, and 31; Gosp. Matth., ch. XXV, v. 35, Corp. and Li.; ibid. v. 42, Corp. and Li.; ch. XXVI, v. 1, Corp.; Gosp. John, ch. IV, v. 13, Corp. and Li.; v. 15, Corp.; ch. VI, v. 35, Corp.; ch. VII, v. 37, Corp. and Li.; ch. XIX, v. 28, Corp.; Eccles. Inst., Thorpe II 428; Epist. Alex. 146:174; Harrow. Hell 613; — Þyrst sawle mine to gode. Cambr. Psalter, p. 101. — Minre sawle þyrste to þan lyfigende gode. Alc. De Virtutibus 382:279.

The impersonal character of the construction met with in the quotation from Past. Care 30:7 is uncertain, since *ðæt folc* may be either an accusative or a nominative. There are several instances on record of the verb *þyrstan* with a nom. personæ for its subject. As an example: 'Þonne seo sawl þyrsteð & lysteð godes rices, - - -'. Dial. Greg. 244:27.

In some of the passages quoted, *þyrstan* has the metaphorical import 'to thirst for'. The thing, etc., coveted, is denoted by a (pro)noun in the genit. case, or else by a prep. phrase.

Subcategory b: *Mental affections.*

The Impersonalia of this class may be conveniently disposed in two subordinate sections: *α*, those denoting *personal mental affections*, and *β*, those implying *sympathetic affections*.

Subsection *α: Personal mental affections.* The following are the verbs belonging here: *onhagian*, *(ge)lician*, *ge-*

[1]) The alteration of *þa* into *þam* appears uncalled for.

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lustfullian, *(ge)lystan*, *reccan*, *hefigian*, *(ge)hrēowan*, *hrēowsian*, *langian*, *lengian*, *(ge)scamian*, *forscamian*, *(ā)ðrēotan*, and *ofþyncan*.

Many of these verbs are very frequently recorded as impersonal, esp. *(ge)līcian*, *(ge)lystan*, and *(ge)scamian*. It is doubtful whether the phrases containing either of the verbs *gelustfullian*, *hefigian*, or *hrēowsian*, are really impersonal.

OE. hine (him) onhagað, 'inclination (satisfaction) takes hold of him' (= 'he feels inclined, is contented').[1])

OE. *onhagian*, a compound wk verb, 'to be inclined, contented'. The simplex **hagian* is not recorded in OE. Cp. the verb *gehagian*, Group 6, p. 87. **Hagian* is derived, ultimately, from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **hay-*, whence the Prim. Teut. str. verb **hayan*, 'to please, to be appropriate', etc. Of probably the same origin is Sanskr. *çákti*, 'helps', *çaknóti*, 'is able', 'is possible for someone'. The Prim. Teut. str. verb died out early. One rest remains, though, viz. OHG. past. part. *bihagan*, MHG. *behagen*, 'fresh, pleasant'. The Teut. languages present wk verbs, instead, from ultimately the same root. Thus we find ON. *haga*, 'to arrange', 'to be suitable', *hátta*, 'to arrange', MHG. *behagen*, 'to please, be suitable, appropriate', OS. *bihagôn*, 'to please', OFris. *hagia*, 'to please', as well as the OE. prefixally derived verbs *onhagian* and *gehagian*.

OE. *onhagian* did not survive into ME. From this latter period are recorded the simple verb *hazien*, and the prefixally derived verb *bihazien*. No traces appear to remain in NE. of either of these verbs.

Examples found: Gif þæs ealdres cwide þurhwunað and his gebod aheardað, wite se gingra mid gewisse, þæt hit him eal framað, and þurh Godes truwan mid soþre lufe þa hyrsumnesse beginne, þeah hine hwon (:but little) onhagige. Reg. Ben. 128:19. — Ac gif ðu fæstan wille Gode to gecwemednysse, þonne gehelp ðu earmra manna mid þam dæle ðe ðu þe sylfum oftihst, and eac mid maran, gif ðe to onhagige. Ælfr. Hom. I 180 (:inclination or convenience?). — Þa seo fyrd

[1])Again, the phrase *him onhagaþ* implies 'inclination is at hand for him'. Besides, *him* (*hine*) *onhagaþ* may sometimes mean 'convenience is at hand for him', 'he has an opportunity, it is in his power, he can afford'. Examples containing the verb *onhagian* in phrases where this latter sense (or senses), seems to be more prominent, are considered in Group 6, p. 88.

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ge somnod wæs, þa ne on hagode him, buton se cyng þære wære. Chron. 147, E (A. D. 1016). — - - -, þa ne onhagode hy þærto (MS. C:heom ðarto), buton þæt wære þ se cyng þær mid wære. ibid. MS. D.

As seen from the examples quoted, the cause of the affection, when given, is expressed by means of a preposit. phrase. In some cases it takes the shape of an infinitive constr. See section B., p. 113.

OE. him (ge)līcað, 'pleasure is at hand for him' (= 'he is pleased, he likes').

OE. *(ge)līcian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to please', is, like Goth. *(ga)leikan*, ON. *líka*, OHG. *lîchên*, *lîchan*, OS. *lîkôn*, OFris. *lîkia*, the descendant of the Prim. Teut. verb **līkēn*, **līkōn*, 'to be appropriate, to please'. The Prim. Teut. verb was formed on the Prim. Teut. nominal base **līka-*, 'body'.

OE. *(ge)līcian* survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *līken*, *ilīkien*, etc., and *like*, respectively.

Examples found: Nafast ðu to manna mægene willan ne þe on þinum selegescotum swiðe licað, þeah þe weras (sc. hi) wyrcean wræst on eorðan. Paris Psalter, CXLVI, v. 11. — Se utacymena munuc, þe of uncuðum eardum cymð, gif he- - -, sig he underfangen and swa lange ðær wunige, swa him sylfum licige. Reg. Ben. 108:8 (uncertain Impersonale). — Þis is min se leofa Sunu, on þæm me wel gelicode. Blickl. Hom. 29. — (He) cwæð, þæt he sylf gearo wære, þæt weorc to gefremmenne - - -, gif hit ðam papan swa gelicode. Ælfr. Hom. II 122. — Ac canones beodað þæt nan wif ne sceole hire wer forlætan swilce for eawfæstnysse, buton him bam swa gelicige. Saints II 422:389. — Wa þam hirdum, he cwæð, þe estað heom silfum, swa heom betst licað. Wulfstan 190:17. — Her is min se gecorena sunu on þam me gelicode. Gosp. Matth., ch. III, v. 17, Corp. Cp. Li.: - - - in ðæm me woel gelicode, and Ru.: - - - in ðæm me gelicode. The Latin version here has: - - - in quo mihi complacui. — ('That bees may not fly off, take this same wort - - - and hang it in the hive'[1]), þonne beoð hy wungynde & næfre ne swicað ac him gelicað. Herbar. of Apul., Cockayne I 98 (uncertain Impersonale). — Þa cydde man me, þæt us mara hearm to fundode, þonne us wel licode. Lieb. 273, Cn. 'Erlass von 1020', 5. — Þa woldon hi innian hi þær heom sylfan ge licode. Chron. 172, E (A. D. 1048); (uncertain Impersonale). Similar instances occur: Dial. Greg. 64:17; ibid. 256: 14; Lieb. 181, VI As. Für London (c. 930—940); Blickl. Hom. 241; Ælfr. Hom. I 274; ibid. II 242; Saints I 360:331; Ælfr. De XII Abusivis 297; Ælfr. Be Hester 94:59; ibid. 96:160; Ælfr. Genesis, ch. XXVII, v. 14; Ælfr. Numeri, ch. XXIII, v. 27; Ælfr. Hiob VI (Grein 1, p. 268, line 6); Gosp. Matth., ch. XI, v. 26, Ru.; ibid. ch. XII,

[1]) Translated by editor.

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v. 18, Corp. (cp. Li. and Ru.); ibid. XVII, v. 5, Corp. (cp. Li. and Ru.); Gosp. Luke III, v. 22, Corp. (cp. Li. and Ru.); ibid. X, v. 21, Corp. (cp. Li.); Byrhtferð 335:20; Lieb. 442, Wifmannes Beweddung, I (c. 970—1060).

As is seen from the examples quoted, the cause of the affection, when given, is expressed by means of a prep. phrase. Note, however, that in the case of examples annotated as uncertain, the construction may perhaps quite as well be considered personal, the subject of the respective phrases lying more or less hidden in the context. Thus in the passage from Reg. Ben. 108:8 quoted above, the phrase 'swa him sylfum licige' may mean: '(so long) as *this* pleases him' rather than: '(so long) as he feels pleased'. Examples of *(ge)lician* with a nom. rei for its subject are common. As an instance: 'Me þin modsefa licað leng swa sel'. Beow. 1854. In some cases the cause of the affection takes the shape of an infinitive or a subordinate clause. See section B, pp. 115 and 126.

OE. him gelustfullað, 'he rejoices'.

(Uncertain Impersonale).

OE. *gelustfullian*, a compound wk verb, 'to enjoy, rejoice', into the composition of which enter the OE. noun *lust*, 'desire, appetite', and the OE. denominative verb *fullian*, 'to fulfil, perfect', from Prim. Teut. nominal base **fulla-*, 'full, filled'. There are no parallel formations in other Teut. dialects, as it appears.

The OE. verb did not survive into ME.

Examples found: Sume word syndon gecwedene Impersonalia, þæt synd butan hade. - - - iuuat, gelustfullað. Ælfr. Grammar, 206. — libet mihi, me gelustfullað. ibid. 207.

Since this verb, except possibly in the passages just quoted, never occurs as an Impersonale, as the term is apprehended in this treatise, and since we cannot know for certain from the above examples whether they are meant to stand absolutely, with the import '(I) rejoice', or whether a complement in the shape of a subjective nom. rei, an infinitive, or a genit. rei, is implied, the nature of the constructions in question is very doubtful. Cp. the cognate impers. verb *(ge)lystan* used absolutely, below.

There are two types of personal constructions extant with this verb: nomin. personæ (as subject), genit. rei, and nomin.

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rei (as subject), dat. personæ. As an example of the latter type may be adduced: 'Da gelustfullode þam cyninge heora clæne lif'. Aelfr. Hom. II 130.

A couple of instances of *gelustfullian* in conjunction with an infinitive are considered in section B, p. 115.

OE. hine (him) (ge)lyst(eð), 'inclination (desire) takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he desires, has an inclination towards, is pleased, delighted').

OE. *(ge)lystan*, a denominative wk verb, 'to desire, to be pleased', is ultimately derived from the IE. verbal root **las-*, **ls-*, 'to ask for', whence also Sanskr. *lasati*, 'asks for', and Greek (**λιλασ̯ομαι*) *λιλαίομαι*, 'I ask for'. This root forms the base of the Prim. Teut. noun **lustu-*, 'pleasure', on which were formed the verbs, Goth. *lustōn*, ON. *lysta*, OHG. *lustôn*, *-ên*, *lustjan*, OS. *lustean*, as well as the OE. verb, all = 'to ask for', etc.

OE. *(ge)lystan* > ME. *lusten*, NE. *list* (archaic).

Examples found: - - -, se þe hine lysteð leoðgiddunga. Poem MS Vercelli 2. — Þone aglæcan ætes lysteþ. Whale 52. — Gif nu hæleða hwone hlisan lyste - - - -. Metra X 1. — - - - -, þonne hine þæs hlisan heardost lysteð. ibid. 14. — Hi for ðæm yrmðum eardes lyste. ibid. XXVI 71. — Þegnas ðearle gelyste gargewinnes. Judith 12. — Hine feola lysteð gastlices lifes godre biesene. Dial. Greg. 2:2. — Þa me gelyste þære deoglan stowe þe ic ær on wæs in mynstre. ibid. 3:10. — Me lysteþ wel þæs þu sagast. ibid. 20:5. — Hine ongan wel his worda lystan. ibid. 181:2. — Swa him (:the miser) mon mare selð, swa hine ma lyst. Boethius 19:10. — Ne him eac næfre genog ne þincð ær he hæbbe eal þ hine lyst. ibid. 77:1. — For ðæm þinge men lyst ælces þara gooda þe hi lyst. ibid. 88:13. — Ure frið is wyrs gehealden, ðonne me lyste. Lieb. 166, V As. 'zu Exeter', Prol. — He him læsse nime þænne hine lyste. Reg. Ben. 65:4. — Se ðe wile his galnysse gefyllan swa oft swa hine lyst, - - -. Ælfr. Hom. I 48. — Ne him ne lyst nanre galnysse. ibid. 238. — And hi ealle (:all created beings) swa-þæh alotene beoð to þære eorðan weard and þider wilniað oððe þæs þe him lyst, oððe þæs þe hi beþurfon. Saints I 14:56. — Untrumum men bið alyfed þ he on ælce tid mot mete þicgan & þonne hine lysteð. Conf. Ecgberti 164. — Hæfde hi (:the abbess) þa hwile þe him geliste. Chron. 164, C (c. 1050). Similar examples occur: Dial. Greg. 30:33; 197:11; 260:2; Boethius 11:26; 19:14; 32:3; 76:30; 77:2; 88:6; Bt. Fox (fr. BT) 162:3; 168:12; Aug. Soliloquies 36:1; 36:15 (two instances); 37:3; Past. Care 445:28; Læceboc, Cockayne II 62; 350; Reg. Ben. 136:22; Verc. Hom. 106:14; Saints I 92:37; Ælfr. Grammar 207; Wulfstan 56:1; *περί διδ.*, Cockayne III 118:6; Alc. De Virtutibus 382:278.

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As seen from the examples, the cause of the affection, when given, is expressed by means of a (pro)noun in the genitive. In view of this fact, we may no doubt consider the symbol *þ* of the passage from Boethius 77:1, quoted above, as a shortening of the genit. *þæs*, and the word *þe* of passages such as this: 'men lyst ælces þara gooda *þe* hi lyst' (ibid. 88:13; quoted above) to be a genitive.

It may be remarked that, in one single instance, to my knowledge, we find an unquestionable personal construction containing the verb *(ge)lystan*. This personal construction has the aspect *he lyst + genit. rei*. The one example found has been quoted already (p. 44 above) and reads as follows: 'þonne seo sawl þyrsteð & lysteð godes rices'. (Dial. Greg. 244:27). It is probable, however, that this is an abnormal construction and a blending, due to the juxtaposition of the personal phrase preceding.

As to extant examples of *(ge)lystan* in combination with an infinitive or a dependent clause, see section B, pp. 116, 128.

OE. hine rēc(e)ð, 'care, desire, takes hold of him' (= 'he cares, desires').

OE. *reccan* (for **rēcan*, v. Wright § 534, Note 1), wk verb, 'to care for, reck', like its counterparts in other Teut. dialects: OS. *rôkian*, 'to care for, consider', OHG. *ruohhjan, ruochen*, 'to care for, consider', 'to desire', and ON. *roekja*, 'to care for, consider', is the descendant of the Prim. Teut. verb **rōkjan*, 'to care for'. This Prim. Teut. verb was formed on the Prim. Teut. nominal base **rōka-*, 'care'. Cp. the OE. adj. *rēceleas*, 'negligent, indifferent', NE. *reckless*.

The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *rechen*, etc., and *reck*, respectively.

Example found: Him þa twigu þincað emne swa merge þ hi þæs metes ne recð. Metra XIII 45.

The thing desired, as seen from the quotation, takes the shape of a genitive.

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OE. hit him *hefigað, 'times, etc., become heavy for him'. (Uncertain Impersonale).

OE. *hefigian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to become heavy', etc. Prim. Teut. nominal base **habiγo-*, 'heavy', whence the OE. adj. *hefig*, 'heavy' (NE. *heavy*), and the OHG. verb *hevigôn*, 'to become heavy', etc., as well as the OE. verb.

OE. *hefigian* survived into ME., but not into NE. ME. forms: *ȝeheviȝen*, *heviin*.

Example found: Men syndon swicole• and woruld is þe wyrse, and þæt us dereð eallum, and huru hit sceal hefegjan heonanforð þearle rihtwisan þearfan and ðam unbeleafullum. Wulfstan 83:12.

Whether this should be considered an impersonal construction or otherwise, seems doubtful. The word *hit* may very well have the same definite import as *þæt* of the preceding sentence: '*this* will become very much aggravated'. Or else, *hit* is a formal word, in which case the more or less palpable subject of the phrase is *the situation:* 'times will become excessively heavy'.

OE. hine (him) *(ge)hrīewð, 'repentance takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he repents').

OE. *(ge)hrēowan*, str. verb, 'to cause sorrow, repentance', is, like its counterparts, OFris. *riowa*, 'to repent', OS. *hreuwan*, 'to pain', and OHG. *(h)riuwan*, 'to distress', etc., the descendant of the Prim. Teut. str. verb **hreuwan*, formed on the Prim. Teut. verbal base **hru-*, 'to distress, cause repentance'. Cp. the ON. verb *hryggva*, *hryggja*, 'to distress', from, ultimately, the same base.

OE. *(ge)hrēowan* survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *(h)reowen*, etc., and *·rue*, *i-rew*, respectively. NE. *i-rew* is obsolete. Latest instance given by NED is from c. 1340.

Examples found: Ne ðe hreowan þearf her on life ealles, swa mycles swa ðu me sealdest, on gemotstede manna & engla. Soul 151. — Hreaw hine sona. Paris Psalter CV, v. 34. — Hit þe þeah wyrs ne mæg on þinum hyge hreowan, þonne hit me æt heortan deð. Genesis B 825 (uncertain Impersonale). — Swa swa hi læsse ongietað on him selfum ðæs ðe him hreowan ðyrfe, swa swa hie swiður wenað þ - - -. Past. Care 411:5. — Þonne hreoweð hyre swiðe þa yfelan dæda. Verc. Hom. 105:9 (uncertain Impersonale). — - - - cuoedende gehreues mec forgef him. Gosp. Luke, ch. XVII, v. 4, Li.

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As seen from these examples, the cause of the affection, when given, is expressed by means of a (pro)noun in the genitive (except in one doubtful instance, Verc. Hom. 105:9, where the form of the noun indicates a nominative or an accusative; v. below).

In one or two cases the construction is uncertain, as intimated already. Thus in the quotation from Genesis B 825, it seems preferable to assume the import to be: 'this cannot cause thee worse repentance', etc., rather than: 'thou canst not feel more repentance', etc. Another circumstance that accredits the supposition of a personal construction here, frequently recorded elsewhere, is the presence of the word *hit*, which does not occur in the unmistakably impersonal sentences containing this verb. Cp. the discussion on the verb *hefigian*, above. As an example of *(ge)hrēowan* with a nomin. rei for its subject, the following quotation may be given: 'Him þæt ne hreoweð æfter hingonge'. Guþlac A 783.

It is hard to decide what should be considered the syntactical function of the noun *dæda* in the passage from the Verc. Homilies quoted above. Against an assumption of a personal construction argues the singular form of the verb. Nor are there any instances met with in other places of *(ge)hrēowan* as a trans. Impersonale.

Extant examples of *(ge)hrēowan* in combination with a subordinate clause are considered in section B, p. 130.

OE. hine *hrēowsað, 'repentance (grief) takes hold of him' (= 'he repents, grieves').
(Uncertain Impersonale).

OE. *hrēowsian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to repent, grieve', is derived, ultimately, from the same Prim. Teut. base **hru-*, as the preceding verb. Not recorded in other Teut. languages. Cp. the ON. str. verb *hrjósa*, 'to shudder' (personal), from Prim. Teut. verbal base **hrus-*, 'to shudder'.

OE. *hrēowsian* survived into ME. Latest instance annotated by NED, of ME. *reusien*, 'to feel sorrow, or repentance', is from the 14th century.

Examples found: Hrywsode hine æftyr mænigo mildheortnysse his. Cambr. Psalter p. 273, v. 45. Cp. the Latin version: poenituit eum secundum- - - -. —

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& ne hreowsode hine. ibid. p. 287, v. 4. Cp. the Latin original: et non poenitebit eum.

Generally, this verb is constructed personally: *he hrēowsað, he hrēowsað hine sylfne.* It is perhaps possible to assume that in the passages quoted, the subject *he* is to be supplied. Or are the constructions in question impersonal, formed perhaps on the analogy of the impersonal phrases of the Latin original, or on OE. *hine (ge)hrīewð*, 'he repents', (v. above)? The latter alternative is the more probable one. See chapter II, p. 189.

OE. hine langað, 'longing (discontent) takes hold of him' (= 'he longs, feels discontent, pain').

The prototype of the OE. denominative wk verb *langian*, 'to desire, long for, feel discontent', is proximately WGerm. **lanƿōjan*, 'to desire', which verb was formed on the Prim. Teut. nominal base **lanƿo-*, adj., 'long'. But the Prim. Teut. form of the verb is **lanƿēn, -ōn*, 'to grow long, to desire', whence ON. *langa*, 'to desire', OHG. *langên*, 'to grow long, seem long, to desire', OS. *langôn*, 'to long', are the descendants.

OE. *langian* > ME. *langen*, etc., NE. *long*.

Examples found: And mec longode. Wife's complaint 14. — Longað (sc. hine?) þonne þy læs þe him con leoþa worn oþþe mid hondum con hearpan gretan. Gnomic verses, Exeter 170. — Forðan me a langað, leofost manna, on minum hige hearde þæs þe ic þe on þyssum hynðum wat wyrmum to wiste. Soul 155. — Langað þe awuht, Adam, up to gode? Genesis B 496. — - - -, þæt us nu æfter swelcum (sc. tidum) longian mæge swelce þa wæron. Orosius 84:27. — Þa ongan hine eft langian on his cyþþe. Blickl. Hom. 113. — Hine ðæs heardost langode hwanne he of ðisse worlde moste. ibid. 227. — Þa ongan me langian for minre hæftnyde. De Vitis Patrum, Grein 3, p. 205, l. 330.

As seen from the examples, the thing longed for, when given, is expressed by means of a genitive or a prepos. phrase. In one instance, discussed in section B, p. 127, it takes the shape of a subordinate clause.

The construction or import of one or two of the examples quoted must be examined here. As regards the quotation from the poem of the Soul, l. 155, CH and GK annotate a verb *ālangian* of the same import, as recorded here (instead of the adv. *ā*, 'ever', + the simple verb). Cp. the OHG. corresponding

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verb *arlangên*, MHG. *erlangen*, an Impersonale constructed with gen. rei, 'to seem long', etc. It is of course quite possible that this is the correct interpretation. Note however that in the MS., the letter *a* is detached from the verb.

It is often next to impossible to decide whether such a word as *wiht* (*awiht*, etc.) should be taken as a noun or as an adverb, which amounts to saying that the character of sentences containing such a word is doubtful. They may be considered as personal or impersonal. A case in point is the quotation from Genesis B 496 given above. I for one am inclined to assume an adverbial function in the word *awuht* of that passage, and to translate: 'Do you feel any longing at all up to God, Adam?' Sundén, *Essay II*, p. 320, is evidently of another opinion, since, according to him, the import of the quotation is: 'Does anything cause a longing in thee up to God, Adam?' There are, however, no unequivocal examples extant, as far as I know, of the verb *langian* with a nom. rei for its subject.

OE. hine lengað, 'longing takes hold of him' (= 'he longs').

OE. *lengian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to long', is ultimately derived from the same Prim. Teut. nominal base **lanγo-* as OE. *langian*. (See above). *Lengian* is not recorded outside English. The OE. verb did not survive into ME.

Example found: Lengað hine hearde. Solomon and Saturn 270.

OE. hine (him) (ge)scamaþ, 'shame takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he is ashamed').

OE. *(ge)scamian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to be ashamed', is, like its counterparts in other Teut. dialects, ultimately derived from the Prim. Teut. nominal base **skamō-*, 'shame, shaming' (OE. subst. *scamu*, NE. *shame*). On this Prim. Teut. nominal base were formed the Prim. Teut. verbs **skamōn*, **skamēn*, 'to put to shame', the prototypes of Goth. *skaman sik*, 'to be ashamed', ON. *skamma*, 'to put to shame' and OHG. *scamôn*, *scamên sih*, 'to be ashamed'. In OE. *scamian* the same base occurs in combination with yet another verbal suffix: Prim. Teut. **-ōjan*.

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OE. *scamian* survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *schamien*, etc., and *shame*, respectively.

Examples fond: Ne þearf þe þæs eaforan sceomigan. Genesis A 2327. — Þeah mæg þone wisan on gewitlocan þære gitsunge gelpes scamian, þonne - - -. Metra X 12. — Ne gesceamað me þæs. Paris Psalter, ed. Thorpe 30:1. — - - -, þæ (:ut) me ne gesceamige, for þam ic cleopode to þe. ibid. 30:19. — Sceal gescamian þa unrihtwisan. ibid. 30:20. Similar examples occur: ibid. 33:5; 36:18. — Gedo þæt hiora ansyn awa scamige, þonne hi naman þinne neode seceað. Paris Psalter, ed. Grein, Psalm LXXXII, v. 12 (uncertain Impersonale). — Forgif us ure synna, þæt us ne scamige eft. Paternoster 84. — Þa se ylca broðor halwendlice geþread him gesceamode. Dial. Greg. 160:20. A similar instance ibid. 186:14. — Þa scamode þone biscop. ibid. 190:8. — Þonne fægniaþ hi ðæs ðe hi sceamian sceolde. Boethius, Headings of chapters, p. 5. Similar instances occur: ibid. 19:30; 46:6; Aug. Soliloquies 20:25. — Hwa bið gescended, ðæt me forðæm ne scamige? Past. Care 165:5. Similar examples: ibid. 209:23; 403:18. — Oft ðone geðyldegestan scamað ðæs siges ðe he ofer ðone dioful hæfde. ibid. 227:19. — Nu mæg þa cristenan gescomian þe swelc deofolgild lufiað. Orosius 210:5. Similar examples occur: Verc. Hom. 115:5; 148:1. — And him ðæs sceamode. Ælfr. Hom. I 18. — Ne sceamode ðe min ofer eorðan, ne me ne sceamað þin on heofonum. ibid. 336. Similar quotations, ibid. II 602; Saints I 272:169; 274:173; ibid. II 286:1092; 292:1196; 442:257; Ælfr. Grammar 207; Ælfr. Genesis, p. 29, v. 25; Ælfr. Numeri, p. 187, v. 14. — Menn scamað for godan dædan swyðor, þonne for misdædan. Wulfstan 164:15. — Hy ne scamað na, þeah he syngjan swyðe. ibid. 165:5. —And þæs us ne scamað na, ac þæs us scamað swyðe þæt we bote aginnan. ibid. 165:39. Similar examples occur: ibid. 199:12; 238:12; 241:8. — Þa sceamode ealle his wiðerwinnan. Gosp. Luke, ch. XIII, v. 17, Corp. (Li. and Ru. have personal constructions here, conformably to the Latin version). Similar examples: Angels. Minora 513, l.9; ibid. l.11; Conf. Ecgberti 132. — Me þingð behefe þin, þæt ic swa mycel ymbe þissum getæle preostum gecyðe swa me ne gesceamige. Byrhtferð 335.

As seen from the examples, the cause of the affection, when given, takes the shape of a (pro)noun in the genitive, or else of a prepos. phrase. In some cases, it is expressed by means of an infinitive or a dependent clause. The syntactical function of these latter are considered in section B, pp. 117, 128.

It is impossible to decide whether in the passage from the Paris Psalter (Ps. LXXXII, v. 12), quoted above, the construction should be considered personal or impersonal, since the word *ansyn* may be either a nominative or an accusative. Examples of nom. personæ in the capacity of subject with this verb are of frequent occurrence. As an instance: 'Se gast his sceamode'. Dial. Greg.

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185:13. On the other hand, there are no cases on record of (*ge*)-*scamian* with a nom. rei for its subject.

OE. hine *forscamað, 'shame takes hold of him' (= 'he is ashamed').

For the etymology of OE. *forscamian*, a prefixally derived wk verb, 'to be ashamed', see the simple verb *scamian*, above. An etymologically related formation is MHG. *verschamen*, 'to be ashamed', etc.

OE. *forscamian* survives in ME., where we find the form *forschame(n)*.

Example found: Þæt hie ongieten ðæt hie mon tæle - - -, & hie forscamige. Past. Care 21.

An instance of this verb in combination with a dependent clause is considered in section B, p. 130.

OE. hine (ă)þrīet, 'weariness, etc., takes hold of him' (= 'he wearies, finds irksome').

OE. (*ă*)*þrēotan*, str. verb, 'to be weary', is ultimately derived from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **þrut-*, 'to molest', perhaps from IE. **tr-eu-d-*, **trud-*, an extension of the IE. verbal root **ter-*, 'to rub, bore'. Prim. Teut. **þrut-* forms the base of the Prim. Teut. str. verb. **þreutan*, 'to molest', whence Goth. *us-þriutan*, of the same import, ON. *þrjóta*, 'to fail', OHG. *ar-driozan*, *ir-*, *bi-*, 'to annoy', as well as the OE. verb.

OE. (*ă*)*þrēotan* did not survive into ME.

Examples found: Moyse sægde, hu ge heofoncyninge hyran sceoldon, lare læstan. Eow þæs lungre aþreat. Elene 368. — Hie (:wyrd and warnung) winnað oft mid hira ðreamedlan, hwæðerne aðreoteð ær. Solomon and Saturn 428. — Ne sceal þæs aþreotan þegn modigne þ he wislice woruld ful-gonge. Codex Exon., ed. Thorpe, 347:31 (fr. BT). — Ac ic ðe bydde eadmodlice þæt ðe huru ne ðreote. Aug. Soliloquies 46:2. — Forðon aðreat ða hieremenn ryhtes lifes. Past. Care 129:4. — Ac hu wene we hu micel scyld ðæt sie ðæt monn aðreote ðære nætinge yfelra monna. ibid. 353:11. — Ic sceal eac niede þara monegena gewinna geswigian þe on eastlondum gewurdon. His me sceal aþreotan for Romana gewinnum. Orosius 218:21. — Accusativo tædet me — me aðryt: tædet animam meam uitæ meæ, cwæð Iob. Ælfr. Grammar 207.

Cp. passive phrases such as the following:

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(Thou shalt not) wenan þæt þa wlitegan tungl þæs þeowdomes aðroten weorðe ær domes dæge. Metra XXIX 39. — Se cyning wæs aþroten his ællreordre gespræce. Bede 3:7.

As seen from the quotations, the cause of the affection, when given, takes the shape of a (pro)noun in the genitive. In some few instances, it is expressed by means of an infinitive or a subordinate clause. See section B, p. 118 and p. 128.

OE. him[1]) ofþync(e)ð, 'displeasure, grief, etc,, is at hand for him (in respect of---)' (= 'he is displeased with, weary of, he grieves at, repents of').

OE. *ofþyncan*, a wk verb, 'to be displeased with, to weary of' The simple verb is derived, ultimately, from the IE. verbal root **teng-*, perhaps with the import 'capere, percipere' (Walde), whence Lat. *tongere*, 'to know'.

IE. **teng-*, etc., > Prim. Teut. (**þenk-*), **þank-*, **þunk-*,'to mean, think', which forms the base of the Prim. Teut. verbs **þankjan* (OE. *þencan*, 'to think') and **þunkjan*, 'to seem' ('es denkt in mir', Nietzsche). The latter Prim. Teut. verb is the prototype of Goth. *þugkjan*, ON. *þykkja*, OHG. *dunchan*, OS. *thunkian*, OFris. *thinka*, as well as of OE. *þyncan*, all = 'to seem'. There are no equivalent formations to OE. *ofþyncan* in other Teut. dialects, as it appears.

OE. *ofþyncan* survived into ME., but not into NE. Latest quotation of ME. *ofþunchen*, etc., given by NED is dated 1382.

Examples found: Þa (sc. me) þæs ofþuhte þ se þeoden wæs strang & stiðmod. Metr. Paraphrase 279:32. (Christ and Satan 247, the same phrase). — Mæg þæs þonne ofþyncan ðeodne Heaðo-Beardna. Beow. 2032. — Him hiera (sc. scylda) na ne of ðyncð. Past. Care 160. — Hit wæs þa swiðe oþþyncende (sic) þam oþrum consulum. Orosius 232:21 (uncertain Impersonale). — Hine drehton nihtlice gedwimer swa ðæt him ðæs slæpes ofþuhte. Ælfr. Hom. I 86. — Þa ðeah hwæðere ofðuhte ðam Ælmihtigum Gode ealles mancynnes yrmða. ibid. 192. — Me ofþincð—poenitet me. Ælfr. Grammar 33 (uncertain Imperson ale). — Ofðincð þe alles þæs, þe ðu to yfele hafst iðoht? Wulfstan 289:21. — And gif he - - - & cwyð: Hit me of-þincð, forgyf hit him. Gosp. Luke, ch. XVII, v. 4, Corp. (probably personal; cp. Li.: - - - cuoeðende gehreues mec for-

[1]) In one instance, only, Chron. 256, E (A. D. 1127), the person influenced by the verbal action takes the shape of an accusative: 'Hit ofþuhte ealle Frencisc & Englisc'. The impersonal character of this sentence is, however, doubtful. See the discussion of the examples.

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gef him, and the Latin version: - - - dicens poenitet me remitte illi). — Ofþinceð þe ealles þæs þe ðu to yfele hæfst geworht? Conf. Ecgberti 130. — Ne ofþingð hit ðe gif ic þus wer geceose? Apoll. of Tyrus 29:34. (prob. personal). — Hit ofþuhte naþema ealle Francisc & Englisc, oc se kyng hit dide for to hauene sibbe. Chron. 256, E (A. D. 1127); (probably personal).

As seen from the quotations, the cause of the affection, when given, takes the shape of a (pro)noun in the genitive. In some instances it is expressed by means of a dependent clause. With regard to the function of the latter, v. section B, p. 130.

In the examples annotated as uncertain, the construction might possibly be considered as impersonal, the phrases in question meaning: 'repentance (grief) takes hold of - - -', and giving no indication as to the cause of the affection. There are, however, no unambiguous examples of such an import on record. The quotation from the Grammar of Ælfric, p. 33, leaves us completely in the lurch in this respect, since we cannot know whether it is meant to imply simply 'repentance takes hold of me', or whether a subjective nom. rei, or a genitive of cause, has to be supplied.

On the other hand, there are not lacking instances of the type: '*þing ofþync(e)ð him*'. As an example: 'Him ælc god ofðincð'. Neot 108:59. Moreover, in all the cases marked as uncertain, there is extant the pronoun *hit*, which does not occur in the unquestionably impersonal phrases containing the verb *ofþyncan*. Consequently, there is hardly any doubt about the personal character of the constructions described as uncertain.

Subsection *β: Sympathetic affections.* The verbs belonging here are: *gebyrian*, *(of)earmian*, and *ofhrēowan*. Instances of impersonal sentences containing one or other of these verbs are comparatively speaking much less frequent than those appertaining to subsection *α*.

OE. him gebyreð[1], **'care is at hand for him'** (= **'he cares').**

OE. *gebyrian*, a denominative wk verb, 'belong to', etc., is ultimately derived from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **ber-*, 'to

[1]) Only the late WS. form *-að* is recorded here. Cp. the identical verb as occurring in Group 6, pp. 70, 94 and 97.

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bear', whence the Prim. Teut. noun **buri-*, 'elevation', etc. On this noun were formed the Prim. Teut. verbs **burjan, -ōn*, the prototypes respectively of ON. *byrja*, 'to begin', *byrja*, 'to belong to, befit' (cp. *byrjar*, 'a fair wind rises', < **buri-*, 'a prosperous wind', ON. *byrr*, < the verbal base **ber-*), OHG. *purjan*, 'to raise', *kipurjan, gaburjan*, 'to happen, belong to, befit', OS. *giburian*, with the same imports, OFris. *bera*, 'to befit', as well as of the OE. verb.[1])

OE. *gebyrian* survived into ME., where we find the form *ȝeburien*, etc., but not into NE.

Examples found: Se hyra flyhþ for þam þe he bið ahyrod & him ne gebyrað to þam sceapum. Gosp. John, ch. X, v. 13, Corp. — & ne byreð ⁊ to him from scipum. ibid. Li. (cp. the Latin version: et non pertinet ad eum de ovibus). — Ne cwæð he na þ forþig þe him gebyrode to þam þearfon. ibid. ch. XII, v. 6, Corp.

As seen from the quotations, the cause or stimulas of the verbal action takes the shape of a prep. phrase. In one instance, it is expressed by means of a dependent clause. For a discussion of this case, as well as of a parallel construction on record, containing the verb *belimpan*, see section B, p. 127.

OE. him *(of)earmað, 'commiseration is at hand for him' (= 'he commiserates').

OE. *earmian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to commiserate', is the OE. representative of a formation common to most of the Teut. dialects, which formation, according to Kluge and Feist, is probably an imitation of the Latin verb *misereri*, effected in order to render the Christian-Latin notion implied in this verb.

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[1]) According to Franck (quoted by NED, s. v. *bir*) the sense-development in this verb took the following course: primitive sense 'to lift, raise'; then 'to arise, come up (as an event), occur, happen, befall, fall to as an occurrence', whence 'fall to as a share, right, duty', etc.

Note that the OE. verb *belimpan* (from Prim. Teut. **lemp-*, 'to glide, happen', OHG. *limphan*, 'to be adequate, appropriate') shows a similar gradation of meanings, as exemplified by the following quotations:

'Ne belimpð to þe þ we forwurdað?' Gosp. Mark, ch. IV, v. 38, Corp. (cp. Author. Version: 'carest thou not that we perish?'), and: 'We þeah rædað, þæt munecum eallunga to windrince naht ne belimpe' (:'have nothing to do with'). Reg. Ben. 64:22.

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As *misereri* had been formed on the adj. *miser*, so the Teut. verbs, Goth. *(ga)arman*, OHG. *irbarmên*, and OE. *earmian*, were shaped on the respective adj.s, < Prim. Teut. **arma-*, 'poor'.

The OE. verb did not survive into ME.

Examples found: Hwa(m)[1]) ne mæg earmian swylcere tide? Chron. 218, E (A. D. 1086) (uncertain; Impersonale). — Þa ofearmode gode heora yrmða. Ælfr. Iudices, ch. XI, v. 1.

As seen from the examples quoted, the cause of the verbal action takes the shape of a genitive. I have found no instances of either *earmian* or *ofearmian* in combination with infinitives or subordinate clauses.

OE. him ofhrīewð, 'compassion is at hand for him' (= 'he has compassion').

For the etymology of OE. *ofhrēowan*, str. verb, 'to excite pity', see the simple verb, p. 59 above. There are no representatives, as it appears, of the prefixally derived verb in the other Teut. dialects.

OE. *ofhrēowan* survived into ME., where we find the forms *areowen*, *arewe(n)*, *arue*. Latest example adduced by NED is from the 15th cent.

Examples found: Þæs sceapes untrumnesse him ofhreaw. Reg. Ben. 51:20. — Him ofhreow (late WS. for *ofhreaw;* v. Sievers, § 119, Note) þæs mannes, forðon ðe he wæs bepæht mid þæs deofles searocræftum. Ælfr. Hom. I 192. — Ðin me ofhrywð, and þinre yrmðe. ibid. 598. — Me ofhreowð þissere menigu. ibid. II 396 (two instances). — Ac gode ofhreow ða. Saints I 300:255. — Me ofhriwþ — me miseret. Ælfr. Grammar 207.

As seen from the passages quoted, the cause of the verbal action, when given, takes the shape of a genitive. In some cases, it is expressed by means of a dependent clause. See section B, p. 130.

Group 5: Expressions denoting some manifestation of mental activity.

It has been pointed out already (v. Introductory remarks to the present chapter, p. 13) that the boundary line be-

[1]) The alteration of *hwa* into *hwam* does not seem to be absolutely necessary. Cp. personal expressions extant such as the following: 'Rihtwisa ofearmaþ'. Psalterium Davidis Lat.-Sax., ed. Spelman, 36:22 (fr. BT).

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tween this semantic category and the one preceding (as well as between other groups) is far from distinct. Likewise, the identical type of construction: *hine + impersonal verb + genit. rei*, is met with in some instances in both groups (v. p. 33 sq.).

The present semantic group is comparatively scantily represented, both as regards the number of verbs concerned, and with reference to the occurrence of these verbs in impersonal phrases. The verbs *(ge)þyncan*, and, in a less degree, *(ge)twēon*, alone, constitute exceptions in the latter respect.

The verbs belonging here are: *(ge)mētan*, *(ge)swefnian*; *(ge)-þyncan*, *misþyncan*; *(ge)twēogan*, and *(ge)twēonian*.

OE. hine (him) (ge)mæt(eð), 'dreaming takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he dreams').

OE. *(ge)mētan*, wk verb, 'to dream', is not met with outside English (NED). The derivation of the verb is obscure.

It survived into ME., but died out during that period. ME. *mæten*, 'to dream', adopted the personal construction in the course of the 14th century (v. van der Gaaf, o. c., § 81).

Examples found: Frægn þa ða mænigeo, hwæt hine gemætte, þenden reordberend reste wunode. Daniel 122. (Probably personal; cp. the impersonal passive construction met with, ibid. 157: Him engel godes eall asægde, swa his mandrihten gemæted wearð). — Ic swefna cyst secgan wylle, hwæt me gemætte to midre nihte. Rood 2. (Probably personal). — To þæm soðrum gesælðum ic tiohige ðæt ic þe læde, þær þin mod oft ymb (ræsweð & eac) mæt. Boethius 51:13. (Uncertain Impersonale). — Ge þeah magon hwæthwugu ongitan swelce eow mæte (:as in a dream) be eowrum frumsceafte, þ is God. ibid. 58:8. — And þa he wundrigende þohte swilce hine on niht mætte. Saints I 518:514. — - - - hwæþer hit furþon soð sy oðde hwæðer me on swefne mæte eall þæt ic her geseo. ibid., line 522. (Uncertain Impersonale). — Witodlice hit gelamp, þæt hine mætte. Ælfr. Genesis, ch. XXXVII, v. 5. — Gehyrað min swefen, þe me mætte. ibid., v. 6. — Oðer swefen hine mætte and he rehte þæt his broðrum. ibid., v. 9. — And slep eft and hine mætte oðer swefen. ibid., ch. XLI, v. 5. — Þa mætte unc begen swefen anre nihte. ibid., v. 11. — Witodlice Pharao rehte Iosepe þa swefen, þe hine mætte. ibid., v. 17. — Þa gemunde Iosep þa swefen, þe hine æt sumon cyrre ær mætte. ibid., ch. XLII, v. 9. A similar instance, Ælfr. Deuteron., ch. XIII, v. 1. — On anre nihtan ealdne monan, swa hwæt swa ðe mæteþ ðæt cymð to gefean. Prognostics, Cockayne III 154. (Probably personal).

The impersonal nature of the construction of some of these passages is more or less questionable. This observation applies

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to two different types among the examples quoted. One is represented by the quotation from Daniel 122: 'Frægn, hwæt hine gemætte'. Another by: 'hine mætte oðer swefen' (Ælfr. Genesis, ch. XLI, v. 5).

What is the function of the words and phrases *hwæt*, *eall þæt*, and *swā hwæt swā* occurring in the passages of the first category? To judge from their forms, only, they are either the subject or the object of the verb. There do not occur any examples of this type showing unequivocal nomin. or accus. forms. However, from a semantic point of view, it appears probable that the words in question proximately served in the capacity of objects indicating the contents or the limitation of the dream, but that subsequently a tendency arose to take them as subjects. In this latter case, the verb *(ge)mǣtan* must have acquired the import 'to appear in a dream', at least in such cases where the (pro)noun indicating the person concerned, was, or could be apprehended as, a dative. Cp. actually existing personal constructions of the following aspect: 'Þe heortan deopnyssa swefnian (:te cordis alta somnient)'. The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church 3:19. The semantically cognate verb *swefnian* here evidently means 'to appear in a dream'. It should be noted, too, that the ON. verb *dreyma* occurs with the identical construction and sense. (For examples, v. Fritzner).

The assumption of an object function in the words *hwæt*, etc., implies that we must assume the verb to have two accusatives, accus. personæ and accus. rei. This is admissible no doubt, in cases such as these, where the accus. rei constitutes an adjunct of contents or limitation. Cp. complex sentences of the type: *hine mǣteð þæt* - - -, discussed in section B, p. 131 sq. The function of the dependent clauses is clearly of identical nature with that of *hwæt*, etc.

The word *swefen* of the second category of uncertain constructions might be considered to function in the capacity of a subject, to judge merely from its form. That, however, such is not always its function, is evident from extant examples such as the following: 'Þa gemunde Iosep þa swefen (accus. plur.) þe hine - - - mætte'. Aelfr. Genesis, ch. XLII, v. 9. Cp. the ON. equivalent phrase: *mik dreymir draum*. As in the case of *hwæt*, etc., we have here,

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too, to annotate proximately adjuncts of contents or limitation, though in the case of *swefen* (and ON. *draum*) this adjunct is represented by a general notion not specifying the contents of the dream, *hine mæteð swefen* being entirely equivalent as to sense to simply *hine mæted*. It is possible, however, to suppose that also the noun *swefen* in the phrase *hine mæteð swefen* tended to acquire the function of a subject. See e. g. the quotation from Aelfr. Genesis, ch. XXXVII, v. 9: 'Oðer swefen hine mætte'.

The quotation from Boethius 51:13 offers some difficulty, too. Is the noun *mōd* the subject of *mæt* as well as of *ræswed* (inserted by editor?)? Cp. the following passage from Ælfr. Genesis XLI,1: 'Pharao mætte, þæt he stode - - -', where the word *Pharao* might possibly be considered the subject of the sentence. (See section B, p. 132). Or are we to assume that *mōd* in a slipshod fashion functions both as the subject of *ræswed* and as the object of *mæt*? There are no unambiguous examples of a nomin. personæ as subject with this verb. Cp., however: 'Gif ðu swefnast ðe twegen monan geseon, - - -'. Prognostics, Cockayne III 212.

OE. hine (him)[1]) (ge)swefnað, 'dreaming takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he dreams').

OE. (*ge*)*swefnian*, wk verb, 'to dream', is a denominative formation shaped on the noun, Prim. Teut. **swebnā-*, 'sleep, dream', OE. *swefn*, of the same import. This noun was formed on the Prim. Teut. verbal base **sweb-*, 'to sleep' (whence also ON. *sofa* [Prim. Teut. **sub-*], OE. *swefan*, 'to sleep'). There are no counterparts of the OE. verb extant in the other Teut. dialects.

OE. (*ge*)*swefnian* survived into ME., but not into NE. Latest example given by NED of ME. *swevenen*, etc., is dated 1532.

Examples found: Hu magon we swa dygle, drihten, ahicgan on sefan þinne, hu ðe swefnede? Daniel 131. — Swa hwæt swa hine swefnað, on blisse hit bið gewyrfed. Prognostics, Cockayne III 184. A similar instance ibid. 154. (Probably personal constructions).

With reference to the syntactical function of the phrase *swā hwæt swā* occurring in the two prose passages mentioned, the identical observations hold good as in the parallel cases of the semantically cognate verb (*ge*)*mētan* (v. above). Note that, as

[1]) The dative not quite certain.

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pointed out already in discussing the latter verb, *(ge)swefnian* also occurs in unmistakably personal constructions such as the following: 'Þe heortan deopnyssa swefnian'. The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church 3:19.

There is no example extant, as it appears, of this verb without a (pro)nominal subject, in combination with either an infinitive or a dependent clause.

OE. him (ge)þync(e)ð, 'it seems to him, it seems good to him'.

As to the etymology of the OE. wk verb *(ge)þyncan*, 'to seem, seem good', v. the verb *ofþyncan*, p. 56 above.

OE. *þyncan* survived into ME, where we find the forms *þunchen*, *þinken*, etc. The verb is obsolete in NE., except in the phrase *methinks*. Concerning the later development of OE. *þyncan*, v. van der Gaaf, o. c., § 84, sqq.

The phrase *him (ge)þync(e)ð* is of exceedingly frequent occurrence. The impersonal nature of the passages in which it occurs, is, however, very often questionable. In giving the material I have collected, I have followed the plan of quoting in the first place such passages in which there are extant unmistakable Impersonalia. Thereupon are given all the instances found that contain relevant constructions, the nature of which is more or less doubtful.

a. Examples of an unmistakably impersonal nature:

Do swa þe þynce (:as seems good to thee), fyrngidda frod. Elene 541. — Næfre ic sæliðan selran mette, macræftigran, þæs þe me þynceð. Andreas 472. Similar examples occur: Metra XXVIII, 33; Paris Psalter CI, 3; ibid. CXV, 2. — Þa þe ic ymb sprece, ic gecyðe bet, me þincð, gif ic - - -. Dial. Greg. 7:2. — Nu oð þis, swa me þinceð, holenga ic wende, þæt - - -. ibid. 25:25, MS. C. — Nu oð þis, þæs þe me þinceð, on idel ic wende, þæt - - -. ibid. MS. H. — Eallum þam higum þuhte, - - -, swa swa mon hordærn ontynde. Bede 174:29. — Þa geseah heo openum eagum, þæs þe hire þuhte, of þæs huses hrofe ufan micel leoht cuman. ibid. 340:8. — Cwæð he: Þynceð þe? (sc. swa?, or subject implied in the following?) mæge ðu lyfgan? ibid. 402:16. — Do þonne rysle to swa swa syn twa pund & ealdes wines swa micel swa þe þince. Læceboc, Cockayne II 74. A similar example, ibid. 234. — Gif hwam þises sealmsanges fadung & endebyrdnes mislicað, fadige he sel and endebyrde, gif him swa þince. Reg. Ben. 44:15. A similar example ibid. 70:12. — Sy he (:an excommunicated man) onfangen on chore on swylcere endebyrdnesse, swylce þam abbode þince. ibid.

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70:13. — Þuhte him swilce hit swefen wære. Ælfr. Hom. II 382. Similar examples occur in the following passages:

Saints II 36:515; Ælfr. Be Hester 94:60; Ælfr. Hom. über das Buch Judith 103:42; Ælfr. Genesis, ch. III, v. 6; ibid, ch. XLV, v. 26; Wulfstan 129:5; ibid. 148:12; ibid. 159:12; Gosp. John, ch. IV, v. 19, Corp; Cart. Sax. III 329; Chron. p. 180, C (A. D. 1052); ibid. p. 181, D (A. D. 1052); ibid. p. 197, C (A. D. 1066); Poenit. Ecgberti, Thorpe II, 186:3; Apoll. of Tyrus 25:16; De Vitis Patrum 199:156; Chron. p. 254, E (A. D. 1124); ibid. p. 258, E (A. D. 1127).

Cp. passive impersonal constructions such as the following, found in the Homilies of Ælfric II, p. 166: 'Þa wearð him eallum geðuht swilce fyr eode - - -'.

In this place we must premise some few remarks concerning the vast number of sentences containing the phrase *him þynceð*, the impersonal nature of which appears very doubtful. The relevant instances are given below. They are all of the following type: *him þynceð riht swā, him þynceð tō lang, hwonne* - - - -.

It appears incontestable that the adjectives *riht, tō lang*, etc., contained in phrases such as these, do not qualify the verb *þyncan* in the same manner as the adverb *swā* in some of the quotations adduced under the heading *a*: *him þynceð swā* meaning 'it seems so to him', rather than 'it seems to him that it is so', etc. In such sentences e. g. as: *him þynceð tō lang, hwonne* - - -, the adjective appears to be equivalent to a whole phrase: 'that it is too long (until - - -)', or: 'as if it were too long (until - - -)'[1]); or else an infinitive may be supplied: 'it seems to him to be too long, etc.'

Consequently, it is no doubt quite rational to consider all similar constructions to be equivalent either to: 'it seems to him that it is - - -' ('it seems to him to be - - -'), or to: 'it seems to him, as if it were - - -'. In most cases, the former alternative is perhaps preferable. Cp. complex sentences of the following aspect: *him þynceð þæt* - - -, 'it seems to him that - - -', *him þynceð sēlre lealtras tō fremman ofer* - - -, 'it seems better to them to - - -', *him þynceð gerȳsne þæt* - - -, 'it seems proper to him that he - - -.'

An assumption of an impersonal construction in the two typical examples just adduced: 'it seems to them, as if it were

[1]) Cp. Poutsma, *A Grammar of late Modern English*, Part I, section 1, p. 1 sqq.

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better to - - -', etc., in accordance with the analysis given above, is admissible, no doubt, but may be disregarded.

There are hardly any reasons for supposing the subordinate clauses in sentences of the type: *him þynceð þæt* - - -, to constitute the direct objects, and not the subjects, i. e. from an OE. point of view. Cp. section B, p. 132, and ch. II, p. 197 sqq. In the same manner, we are doubtless justified in considering the dependent clauses which we have assumed to lie dormant in such phrases as the following: *him þynceð tō lang hwonne* - - -, to function as subjects, too.

β. Examples of uncertain nature:

Witig god on swa hwæþere hond halig dryhten mærðo deme, swa him gemet þince. Beow. 687. Similar examples occur: Genesis A 2895. Metra XXIX 42; Exhortation 275:50. — Þe on þam eallum eades to lyt mode þuhte, gif þu meahta sped efenmicle gode agan ne moste. Crist III 1401. A similar example occurs: Metra VIII 6. — To lang hit him þuhte hwænne hi togædere garas beron. Byrhtnoth 66. — Dem þu hi to deaþe, gif þe gedafen þince. Juliana 87. — Ic biddo higon ðæt ge me ge mynen æt ðere tide mid suilce godcunde gode suilce iow cynlic ðynce. Cart. Sax. I 460 (A. D. 810). — (He) ðet lond hebbe & his beorn yftir him & sue ateon sue him nytlicas ðynce. Codex Dipl. I 296 (A. D. 831). — Him þa god þuhte þær hie mehten hie selfe æt ham wið ðeowdom bewerian. Orosius 98:2. Similar examples occur: Cart. Sax. II 207 (c. 890?); Lieb. 179, VI As. 8:3 (A. D. 930—940); Conf. Ecgberti, Thorpe II 144; ibid. 156; Lieb. 330, II Cn. 27 (c. 1030). — He wæs swa mildheort, þæt him þuhte sarlic, gif he ne ge hulpe þam earman. Dial. Greg. 18:13. — Ðonne hit ðe fræcnost þynce, wen ðe ðonne frofre. Disticha Cat. 268. — Him þuhte æfre to lang, hwonne he moste beon ymbe þæs lichaman oferfylle. Wulfstan 236:10. A similar instance, Ælfr. Hom. I 140.

Consistently with the analysis given in the precursory remarks above, the examples adduced under the heading *β* may be considered either as personal or as impersonal constructions.

In a couple of instances, Juliana 87, Disticha Catonis 268, and possibly some others, a definite subject may be implied by the context, or indicated by a deictic *hit* = 'this'. Cases of a nomin. rei in the capacity of subject abound. As examples: 'No his lifgedal sarlic þuhte secga ænegum'. Beow. 842. — 'Þeah þu nu hwæm fæger ðince, ne bið hit no þy hræðor swa'. Boethius 73:6. Cp. the following passive personal construction: 'Lagu (:name of rune) byþ leodum langsum geþuht'. Runic poem 21.

As to complex sentences consisting of the phrase *him þynceð* + infinitive constructions or subordinate clauses, v. section B, pp. 118 and 132.

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OE. him[1]) *misþync(e)ð, 'it seems to him wrongly' (= 'he is mistaken').

There do not seem to occur any parallel formations in the cognate languages to the OE. prefixally derived wk verb *misþyncan*, 'to have mistaken ideas'.[2]) As to the derivation of the simple verb, v. p. 56 above.

OE. *misþyncan* survived into ME. and NE. See NED *misthink*.

Example found: Ða cwæð se cyngc: þe misþingð; soðlice, þes iunga man ne æfestigað on nanum ðingum, ðe he her gesihð. Apoll. of Tyrus 26:13.

There are no examples of *misþyncan* as a personal verb in dictionaries.

OE. hine (him) (ge)twēoð, 'doubt takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he doubts').

OE. *(ge)twēon*, *(ge)twēogan*, a denominative wk verb, 'to doubt', is, like OHG. *zuehôn*, 'to doubt', derived from the noun, Prim. Teut., **twihan*, 'doubt', OE. *twēo*, OHG. *zweho*, of the same sense. On the same nom. base, but with other suffixes, were formed Goth. *tweifljan*, 'to cause to doubt', OHG. *zwîfaljan*, *zwîfalôn*, OS. *twîflian*, all = 'to doubt'; OS. *twîflôn*, 'to waver'.

The OE. verb did not survive into ME.

Examples found: Mec þæs lyt tweoþ, þæt me engel to ealle gelædeð spowende sped spreca & dæda. Guðlac A 223. — Ic wat þte wile woruldmen tweogan geond foldan sceat. Metra IV 51. — Þa hyne man lædde to þære beheafdunge, þa getweode hyne on hys mode. Martyr. 220:2. — Þa gehreow him þæt hyne æfre swa on his geþohte getweode. ibid 220:5. — Nænne mon þæs tweogan ne þearf þte - - -. Boethius 26:12. Similar examples, ibid. 38:3; 75:14; 83:24; 97:30. — Ne tweoð me þæs nauht. ibid. 106:20. — Ac ic þe wolde giet acsian sume spræce ðe me ymbe tweoð. ibid. 144:11. — Gif þe be ængum þissa þinga awiht tweoge, þonne secge þu me þæt. Aug. Soliloquies 54:5. — Hie sculon, ðonne hie ymb hwæt tweoð ðæs þe hie ðærute don sculon, cyrran eft to

[1]) The form of the pronoun (*: þe*) indicating the person whom the verbal action affects, in the one instance recorded, does not indicate whether it is a dative or an accus. There is no reason, however, to assume an accus. here. Cp. the simple verb.

[2]) Note that BT mentions also an import 'to give a wrong idea', without adducing a single example of such a sense.

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hiera agenum inngeþonce. Past. Care 102:7. — Symle ymb ðæt ðe hine ðonne tueode, ðonne orn he into ðæm temple. ibid. 103:3. Cp. the Latin version: Qui de rebus quoque dubiis semper ad tabernaculum recurrit. — Ðær ðe auht tweoge, lofa ðæt gemetlice. Disticha Cat. 266. — Ne tweoge ðis folc (:accus. or nomin.?) be hire untrumnesse. Blickl. Hom. 143:12. — Ðone æftran aa tweode ma, þonne þæne ærran. Wulfstan 2:15. — Se ðe hine aht þisses tweoð and - - -, ne cymð he æfre to godes rice. ibid. 28:13. — Gif him tweoge læte lybban. Conf. Ecgberti, Thorpe II 144.

As seen from these examples, the cause or stimulus of the activity implied in the verb, or, if we so will, the thing, etc., in respect of which the verbal action is true, takes the shape of a (pro)noun in the genit., or else of a preposit. phrase. In some cases it is expressed by means of a dependent clause. See section B, p. 134, and cp. the discussion that follows here below, of the function of the pronoun *awiht*, etc., occurring in some of the passages quoted.

The construction of some of the examples adduced is doubtful. What is the function to be assigned to the pronoun *þe* of the passage quoted from Past. Care, p. 103? It no doubt stands for *þæs*, or *be* (*ymb*) *þām*. An assumption of a personal construction here, having *þe* for its subject: 'which inspired him with doubts', does not seem warranted by existing facts, since there are no certain examples on record of a nomin. rei as subject. Cp., however, the existing cases of the type: *hine twēoþ þæt - - -*, considered in section B (p. 134). A function as object is, for the same reasons, hardly to be thought of.

The pronoun *awiht*, etc., met with in some passages, might possibly in one or two instances be considered as functioning in the capacity, not of an adverb = 'at all', but of a subject. Since, however, the import 'at all' gives a perfectly good sense in the passages concerned, there is no need to assume a subject function.

In the record from the Blickl. Homilies, p. 143, l. 12, we find the expression *ðis folc*, which may be either a nomin. or an accus. Inasmuch as there are cases extant of a nomin. personæ as the subject of the sentence, e. g. in the following passage: 'No him fore egsan earmra gæsta treow getweode' (Guðlac A 310), the nature of the construction of the sentence in question is doubtful.

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OE. hine (him) (ge)twēonað, 'doubt takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he doubts').

OE. *(ge)twēonian, (ge)twȳnian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to doubt', is derived from the identical Prim. Teut. noun **twihan* which forms the base of OE. *(ge)twēon* (v. above). There are no equivalent formations in the other Teut. dialects, as it appears.

OE. *(ge)twēonian* did not survive into ME.

Examples found: - - -, hu hys gesceadwisnes answarode hys mode, þonne þæt mod ymbe hwæt tweonode. Aug. Soliloquies 2:22. — Þu segst þæt ðe þæs nanwiht ne tweonige. ibid. 20:22. — Gif hie ðonne giet ðær tweonað, - - -. Past. Care 103:9. — Gyt me tweonað. Ælfr. Hom. I 72. — Gif hwam twynige be ðam gemænelican æriste, þonne - - -. ibid. 132. — Hu mæg þe nu twynian þæs ecan leohtes? ibid. 160. — Gif hwam twynige be æriste, þonne mæg he - - -. ibid. 532. — Ðy læs ðe hwam twynige ðyssere gereccednysse, - - -. ibid. 598. — Eft ðaða him twynode, and be sumon dæle dæf, ða - - -. ibid. II 390. — Ac him twynode swa swa men. ibid. 392.

Similar examples occur: Ælfr. Grammar 76:1; ibid. 176:13; Gosp. Luke, ch. IX, v. 7, Corp.; Poenit. Ecgberti, Thorpe II 172; Apoll. of Tyrus 31:3.

As seen from these examples, the cause or stimulus of the activity implied in the verb, when given, takes the shape of a (pro)-noun in the genitive or of a preposit. phrase. In some cases it is expressed by means of an infinitive construction or a dependent clause. See section B, pp. 119, 135. It is possible, though hardly probable, that the phrase *þæt mod* of the first passage quoted above, is the subject of the sentence. Likewise that the pronoun *nanwiht* occurring in the second quotation has a subjective function. Cp. the analogous instances containing the verb *(ge)twēon* discussed above. The same remarks are applicable in both cases. An as example of extant constructions of the type: *he twēonað* may be adduced: 'Swa hwylc swa cwyþ to ðisum munte: si þu afyrred & on sæ aworpen, & on his heortan ne twynað ac gelyfð, - - -.' Gosp. Mark, ch. XI, v. 23, Corp.

The impersonal verbs which have hitherto been passed in review, have this in common, that on the whole, and with not a few exceptions, they refer to more elementary perceptions, such as 'it hails', 'I am cold', etc., while the three groups that follow

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include Impersonalia that mostly imply more complicated ideas, which could not be grasped and expressed except by a developed, combining understanding, such as 'it fares so and so'. See preliminary remarks to the present chapter, p. 14.

Group 6: Expressions denoting different aspects of the course of events, the state of things.

Comparatively speaking, this group of OE. Impersonalia is very extensive. Not only do a great many verbs belong here, but the individual verbs are frequently met with in impersonal constructions. It need scarcely be pointed out that there are no hard and fast lines of demarcation between the impersonal expressions referring to *the course of events* and those implying different aspects of *the state of things*.

Subcategory a: Expressions referring to the course of events: *things fall out so and so, improvement (deterioration) takes place, benefit (harm) accrues; a subjugation is effected; a discontinuance, a deficiency occurs.*

The following are the verbs appertaining to this subcategory: *gebyrian, (be)cuman tō (ādle, bōte, freme, gōde, yfele), derian, faran, fēran, (ge)gān (ā-, āge-, angān), gangan, gōdian, (ge)limpan, mislimpan, (ge)sælan, sceððan, (ge)spōwan, misspōwan, getīdan, mistīdan, getīmian, geþwærian*[2]*), wendan, (ge)weorðan*[1]*), wiersian* and *geyfelian; ofercuman; ofergān, tōgangan* and *tōsælan.*

[1]) N. B., as a verb of material import. It has seemed best to include OE. *(ge)weorðan* as an Impersonale in the present semantic group on the strength of the primary sense 'vertere, verti' assigned to its prototype, Prim. Teut. **werþan* (v. p. 80 below), although, besides the import 'to happen, become', it had the specialized significations 'to occur to, seem (good) to', and 'to agree'. These latter meanings are by no means rare (v. p. 81).

[2]) As to OE. *geþwærian*, of uncertain etymology, this verb, which had the import 'to agree', may conveniently be considered immediately after *(ge)weorðan*, since in one or two of the very few instances on record of the former verb as an Impersonale, it occurs in combination with, and as a synonym for, the other verb.

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Several of these verbs (as well as some belonging to subcategory b; cp. p. 86 sqq.) occur in phrases of the types: *gebyreð swā, cymð tō bōte, hit færð bet, hit wiersað*, 'things fall out so and so', 'things improve', etc. It is the unanalysed general idea of *the course of the world, the current of events*, as a rule with reference to its bearing upon individual cases, that stands out, upon reflection and with varying distinctness, as the subject of the judgment in question. This notion is not very prominent, as a rule.

The impersonal character of not a few of the phrases to be passed in review is doubtful, since they may be considered to have morphologically expressed subjects, or for other reasons (v. discussion of the individual expressions). Nearly all the verbs concerned also occur in unmistakably personal constructions. For examples, v. dictionaries.

OE. gebyreð[1]), 'it fares (so and so)'.

OE. *gebyrian*, wk verb, 'to happen', etc. As to the etymology, etc., of this verb, see Group 4, p. 57.

Examples found: Ic eow cyðe þa þing, þe eow towearde synd, and hu eower ælcon gebyreð ær his ende. Ælfr. Genesis, ch. XLIX, v. 1. — He mæg wenan þ him gebirige swa Baldazare dyde. Eccles. Inst., Thorpe II 412.

OE. cymð tō bōte, 'improvement takes place', (hit) (be)cymð him tō ādle, etc., 'illness, etc., comes to him'.

(Uncertain Impersonalia).

As to the etymology, etc., of *cuman*, see Group 2, p. 31.

Examples found: A hit wearð þe wirse for Gode & for worlde; cume nu to bote, gif hit God wille. Lieb. 267, VIII Atr. 38 (A. D. 1014). — Þanne þu þas tacnunge seo an þan manna, þanne scealt þu hym blod lætan, and gif þu ne dest, hit cymð hym to mucele & stranga adle. *περὶ διά.*, Cockayne III 120. — Bute he þe hraþur gehæled beo, hyt cumð hym to mycele yfele. ibid. (bottom of page). — Þonne ys wen þ hyt him cume to mycelre freme. Herbar. of Apul., Cockayne I 84. — Þam yfelan men ne becymð to nanum gode, ac to forwyrde, gif he ðæs halgan husles unwurðe onbyrigð. Ælfr. Hom. II 278.

[1]) As a rule, it does not seem necessary to indicate the case in which appears the person, etc., whom the action implied in the verb befalls. That member of the sentence generally and naturally takes the shape of a dative with verbs of the present semantic group.

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It must be left to subjective estimation to decide whether, in phrases such as the above, the construction should be apprehended as personal or impersonal. Either interpretation appears pretty equally acceptable. In case the former alternative is accepted, the circumstances implied in the context are taken as constituting the subjects of the sentences. As an instance, take the quotation from the Homilies of Ælfric II 278: 'Þam yfelan men ne becymð to nanum gode - - -, gif he ðæs halgan husles unwurðe onbyrigð'. The meaning may evidently be either: 'the circumstance that the wicked man in an unworthy manner partakes of Holy Communion does not redound to his benefit', or: 'no good will be the effect, in case he - - -'. And likewise with reference to the other examples, *mutatis mutandis*. As pointed out in the Introduction, p. 8 sqq., the absence or presence of the pronoun *hit* does not necessarily imply a difference in the semantic interpretation.

OE. dereð, 'injury is the result'.

(Uncertain Impersonale).

OE. *derian*, wk verb, 'to injure', is the descendant of the Prim. Teut. verb **ðarjan*, 'to injure', from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **ðer-*, **ðar-*, of the same sense. Hence ultimately also OHG. *tarên, -ôn, terjan, terren*, 'to injure, wound', OS. *derian*, OFris. *dera*, 'to wound'.

The OE. verb survived into ME., where it had the form *derien*, etc. It was still extant in early NE. in the form *dere*. The latest instance adduced by NED is from the 17th cent.

Examples found: - - - and tæhton, þæt man drince, swa swa him ne derede. Ælfr. De Veteri et Novo Test. 21:36. — Næddran hi afyrrað & him ne derað þeah hi hwæt dead-bærlices drincan. Gosp. Mark, ch. XVI, v. 18, Corp.

The impersonal character of the two examples seems very doubtful. In both cases, a definite subject may be considered as implied in the preceding and the following clause, respectively.

OE. (hit) færð, 'it fares (so and so)'.

OE. *faran*, str. verb, 'to fare', is derived, ultimately, from the IE. verbal root **per-*, **por-*, met with in Sanskr. *píparti*,

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'takes across', Greek περάω, πείρω, 'I penetrate'. IE. *por- >Prim. Teut. verbal base *far-, 'to go', (of any kind of motion from place to place), whence the Prim. Teut. str. verb *faran, of the same sense. Prim. Teut. *faran is the prototype not only of OE. faran, but of Goth. faran, ON. fara, OHG. faran, OS. faran, OFris. fara, all = 'to go'.

The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE. ME. and NE. forms: fare(n), and fare, respectively.

Examples found: Swa ma witena beoð on bradnysse middan-eardes, swa hit bet færð æfter ðæs folces þearfa. Saints I 292:130. — Þwyrlice færð æt ðam huse þær seo wyln bið þære hlæfdian wissigend. ibid. 364:10. — Eall (or:eala?) hit fareð yfele ealles to wide. Inst. of Polity, Thorpe II 322.

To the last passage quoted, the editor has added a note: '*eall* or *eala?*', the text of the MS. evidently not being quite clear. The impersonal character of this quotation is therefore doubtful.

OE. hit *fēr(e)ð, 'it fares (so and so)'.

OE. *fēran*, wk [illegible] verb, 'to fare, go', etc.[1]), is a causative formation, Prim. Teut. *fōrjan, 'to carry, bring', shaped on the str. verb, Prim. Teut. *faran, 'to go'. [illegible] Counterparts to OE. *fēran* are: ON. *fœra*, 'to bring, take', OHG. *fuorra[illegible]n, fuoren*, of the same sense, OS. *fôrian*, OFris. *fêra*, 'to carry, take'.

The OE. verb survived into ME., where we find the form *fere(n)*. The latest instance given by NED is from the 15th cent.

Example found: Wel we magon geðencan hu wel hit ferde [illegible] mid us, þaða þis igland wæs wunigende on sibbe. Saints I 294:147.

OE. (hit) *gæð (ge-, ā-, āge-, an-[2]), 'it fares (so and [illegible] so)'.

As to the etymology, etc., of the verb *gān*, see Gr[illegible]oup 3, p. 38.

Examples found: Hweðere him geiode, swa ful oft gedeð, þætte go[illegible]r. Oft swa gylt gefræmmað. Cotton Psalter L, line 13. — Ac ic wolde witan, hu þa[illegible]c tōð be-mage geweorðan, þæt fulloft þa sweltendan men on heora feorhadle secg[illegible]8.

[1]) Note the intr. signification of the OE. verb, as compared with th[illegible]at of Prim. Teut. *fōrjan and its descendants in the other Teut. dialects.

[2]) The prefix *an-* occurs in a few instances, all from Neot, thus fairly [illegible] with Probably the form *anēode* (the one form on record) is due to a mistaken [illegible]no-tion that *ā-* in *āgān* is short for *angān*.

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foran fela þinga swa hit æfter agæð. Dial. Greg. 296:21. — Gif hit þonne swa gegæþ swa þe (:we?) ne wyscað, þ hwylc brocon becume - - -. Cart. Sax. II 107 (c. 830—860). — Wiccan oft secgað swa swa hit agæð mid soðum ðincge. Saints I 372:109. — Him for ðissere worulde wel on hand eode þæt (:so that) he - - -. ibid. 488:13. — Him eac swa geeode swa swa aidanus him bæd, þæt his swiðre hand is gesundful oð þis. ibid. II 132:102. A similar example, ibid. 268:791. — Swa hi hyne sohton, þæt hi sylfe hyne (:þone hælend) næfdon, ne we na þe swiþor, gyf hyt be heora willan eode. Ælfr. Hom. John XI, v. 47—54, Grein 3, 67:57. — Him swa aeode, swa swa he him sæde. Ælfr. Hom. Judith, Grein 3, 112:340. — He þæt wiste þæt hit æfter his geteohhunge agan sceolde. Hom. John XIII, v. 1—30, Grein 3, 154:68. — Hit agæð eall, swa he sprich. Ælfr. Deuteron., ch. XIII, v. 2. — He him feala foresæde mid forewitegunge, swa him syððan aneode. Neot 110:115. — Him aneode syððen swa sanctus Neotus him foresæde. ibid. 111:128. A similar example occurs ibid. 112:169. — Þa sæde he his ðegnum fore eal, hu hit gewurðan sceolde, and hit sona æfter þam ealswa aeode. Wulfstan 17:17. Similar examples occur: ibid. 44:23; 45:13 and 20; 46; 47; 48. — (He him foresæde), swa swa hit him syððan sorhlice þæræfter agiode. Codex Dipl. IV 56 (A. D. 1038). — Willelm eorll fram Normandige Eadwardes cingces mæg wolde hider cuman & þis land gegan eall swa hit syððan a eode. Chron. 196, C (A. D. 1066).

In some of the above passages it is perhaps equally legitimate to assume decidedly personal constructions, with morphologically expressed subjects. A case in point is e. g.: 'Hit agæð eall, swa he sprich'. (Ælfr. Deuteron., ch. XIII, v. 2). Cp. the Latin version: 'evenerit quod locutus est'. On the other hand, we may compare e. g. '- - - and hit sona æfter þam ealswa aeode'. (Wulfstan 17:17).

OE. hit gangeð, 'it fares (so and so)'.

(Uncertain Impersonale).

OE. *gangan*, an intr. verb, with an originally reduplicated preterite, 'to go', etc., had the following etymologically and semasiologically corresponding equivalents in other Teut. dialects: OFris. *ganga*, OS. *gangan*, OHG. *gangen*, *kankan*, etc., ON. *ganga* and Goth. *gaggan*, all = 'to go', etc. These verbs are all the descendants of the Prim. Teut. str. verb **yanyan*, 'to go', a derivation of the Prim. Teut. verbal base **yany-*, of the same sense, < the IE. verbal root **ĝhengh-*.

OE. *gangan* survived into ME., where we find the form

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gangen, etc. It is not met with in NE., except in Scotch and in dialects, in the form *gang*.

Example found: Godes spelbodan wordum sægdon & þurh witedom eal anemdon, swa hit nu gongeð. Guþlac A 13.

As to the personal or impersonal character of the phrase *swa hit nu gongeð*, the same remarks are valid as in the case of some of the sentences containing a tense of the verb *gān* (v. above).

OE. hit *gōdað, 'the state of things improves'.

OE. *gōdian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to improve', etc., is derived from the adjective, Prim. Teut. **yōða-*, 'good, fitting', OE. *gōd*, 'good'. Cp. MHG. *guoten*, 'to be good', *güeten*, 'to prove good'.

The OE. verb survived into ME., where we find the form *goden*, etc. In Scotch the verb is still in use, in the form *good*, with the specialized signification 'to make (land) good by manuring (it)'.

Examples found: Hit agann mid heom godjan georne. Wulfstan 14:14. — Forþam þurh þæt hit sceal on earde godian to ahte (:'um etwas [Bedeutendes]'; Lieb.'s translation), þe man - - -. Lieb. 244, V Atr., 33:1 (c. 1008). — Forðam þurh þæt hit sceal on earde godian to ahte, þæt man unriht alecge. ibid. 316, II Cn. 11:1 (c. 1030). — On his dagum hit gododе georne. Chron. 114, E (A. D. 963), poetical passage.

OE. (hit) (ge)limp(e)ð, 'it fares (so and so)'.

OE. *(ge)limpan*, str. verb, 'to happen', is, like its one counterpart on record, OHG. *limphan, limfan*, etc., 'to be adequate, appropriate', derived from the verbal base, W. Germ. **limp-*, Prim. Teut. **lemp-* (perhaps properly = 'to hang down'; Fick III, p. 363), 'to glide, happen', < IE. verbal root **lemb-*. Cp. Sanskr. *lámbate*, 'hangs down, sticks to'.

The OE. verb survived into ME., but is obsolete in NE. The latest example annotated by NED is from the 15th cent. ME. forms *(ȝe)limpe(n)*, etc.

Examples found: Sum sare angeald æfenreste, swa him ful oft gelamp, siþðan goldsele Grendel warode. Beow. 1252. — Hu lomp eow on lade, leofa Biowulf? ibid. 1987. — (He little knew), þæt him on his inne swa earme gelamp. Genesis A 1567. — Eow þær wyrs gelomp. Guðlac A 637. — Him þæs wirs ge-

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lamp, ða heo in helle ham staðeledon an æfter oðrum. Christ and Satan 24. — (They thanked the Lord), þæt hit þus gelomp, þæt - - -. ibid. 534. — Wæs se witedom þurh fyrnwitan beforan sungen, eall æfter orde, swa hit eft gelamp ðinga gehwylces. Elene 1155. — Wiste he þi gearwor manes melda magum to secgan, susles þegnum, hu him on siðe gelomp. Juliana 558. — Þæt se mon ne wat, þe him on foldan fægrost limpeð. Seafarer 12. — Swa is þissum nu mode gelumpen; nu hit mare ne wat for gode godes buton gnornunge. Metra III 8. — Eadig biþ ðæt folc ðe him swa on foldan fægre limpeþ. Ps. Th. 1:5 (fr. BT). — Wel is þe gelumpen, þu earma. Dial. Greg. 185:7. — Þe þus gelimpeð. ibid. 191:24. — Wa þam gelamp, þe - - -. ibid. 291:4 (may be personal; *wa* noun or adverb). — Him limpð oft æfter hiora agnum willan. Boethius 125:20. — Forðan ðe he ondred, swa swa hit gelamp, þæt hi eft hine ne gecyrdon. Ælfr. Hom. I 82. — (Heo) nyste hu hire were gelumpen wæs. ibid. 316. — Oft eorðstyrung gehwær fela burhga ofhreas, swa swa gelamp on Tyberies dæge þæs caseres, þæt ðreottyne byrig ðurh eorðstyrunge afeollon. ibid. 608.

Similar phrases are met with: ibid. II 120; 174; Saints II 174:100; 208:206; 244:381; Ælfr. Be Hester 95:96; Wulfstan 39:10; ibid. 44:25; Mildred, Cockayne III 426; Poenit. Ecgberti, Thorpe II 188; Chron. 209, D (A. D. 1075); ibid. 218, E (A. D. 1086).

OE. *mislimp(e)ð, 'things turn out badly'.

As to the etymology of OE. *mislimpan*, see the simple verb, above. There would seem to exist no corresponding formations in the cognate Teut. languages.

The OE. verb survived into ME., but died out during that period. ME. form *mislimpen*, etc.

Examples found: Æfter þæm þe him swa oftrædlice mislamp, hie angunnan - - -. Orosius 164:24. — Nis eac nan wundor, þeah us mislimpe. Wulfstan 163:16. — And gif hit geweorðe þ folce mislimpe þurh here oðþon hunger, - - -, þonne - - -. Inst. of Polity, Thorpe II 324:28.

OE. (ge)sæl(e)ð, 'it fares (so and so)'.

OE. (*ge*)*sælan*, a denominative wk verb, 'to happen', has no counterparts in other Teut. dialects. It is derived, ultimately, from the Prim. Teut. nominal base **sæli̯a-*, 'good, happy', whence Goth. *sēls*, 'good, capable', ON. *sæll*, 'happy'; OE. *sæl*, subst., 'occasion, time', etc. With another ablaut-vowel (*ō*), the same base occurs in the OE. comparative and superlative forms *sēlra*, *sēlost*, 'better, best'.

According to Stratmann, it is not quite certain whether the

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ME. verb *sælen*, 'to befit', is the descendant of OE. *(ge)sælan*. ME. *sælen* is not given by NED.

Examples found: Hwilum us on yðum earfoðlice gesæleþ. Andreas 514. — Weald, hu ðe sæle æt þam gegnslege. ibid. 1355. — Gif ðu bearn hæbbe, lær ða cræftas ðæt hi mægen be ðam libban; uncuð hu him æt æhtum gesæle. Disticha Cat. 20.

OE. sceþeð, 'harm is the result'.

(Uncertain Impersonale).

As to OE. *sceþþan*, 'to injure', there occur both strong and weak forms of this verb (the former in poetry). We have to annotate, on the one hand, a Prim. Teut. str. verb **skaþjan*, 'to injure', from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **skaþ-*, of the same sense, whence the Goth. and OE. str. verbs *skaþjan*, 'to injure', and *sceþþan*, respectively (sixth ablaut-series). On the other hand, the Prim. Teut. wk verbs **skaþōn*, *-jan*, from the identical verbal base, whence ON. *skaða*, *skeðja*, OHG. *scadôn*, *-ên*, OFris. *skathia*, and OE. *sceþþan*, all of them wk verbs, with the import 'to injure'.

The OE. verbs did not survive into ME. ME. *scaþen*, 'to harm, wound', NE. *scathe*, is a loan-word, ON. *skaþa*.[1])

Examples found: Ic wreo me her wæda leasne, liffrea min, leafum þecce scyldfull, mine sceoma: sceaðen is me sare, frecne on ferhðe. Genesis A 869. — An is þonne þunorrad biþ ne sceþeð þam men þe þone stan (:the agate) mid him hæfð. Læceboc, Cockayne II 296.

The phrase *sceaðen is* of the first passage quoted most probably is a *passive* impersonal construction: 'I (have become and) am badly injured'. Consequently, it should not be included among the Impersonalia of the present treatise. However, it might possibly be considered an *active* construction: 'a hurt has hit me sorely', since in OE., the perfect of intr. verbs was formed by means of a tense of *wesan* and the past part. (v. Wright, § 474). We may compare e. g. the similar construction of the verb *ofercuman*, 'to conquer, subdue', as an Impersonale (p. 85 below).

As regards the quotation from the Læceboc, it seems doubtful whether the expression *sceþeð* should be considered a personal or an impersonal construction. In view of the fact that there

[1]) See Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*, p. 123.

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are several examples on record of this verb in undoubtedly personal phrases such as: 'ne mæg him bitres wiht scyldum sceððan' (Phoenix 179), the former alternative appears preferable.

OE. (ge)spēwð, 'it fares (so and so), success attends'.

OE. *(ge)spōwan*, a str. verb with an originally reduplicated preterite, 'to fare, succeed', as well as its one counterpart in the Teut. dialects, OHG. *(gi)spuon*, 'to proceed, succeed', etc., is the descendant of WGerm. **spōwan*, str. verb, 'to thrive, succeed', < the Prim. Teut. verbal base **spōw-*, of the same import. Prim. Teut. **spōw-* is derived from the IE. verbal root **spō-*, **spē-*. Cp. OBulg. *spěją spěti*, 'to have effect'. The OE. verb did not survive into ME.

Examples found: Forðon ðe giena speow, þæs þu wið freond oððe feond fremman ongunne wordum oððe dædum. Metr. Paraphrase 170:9 (Genesis A 2810, the same phrase). — Him spewð ðe bet. Cædmon's Biblische Dichtungen, ed. Bouterwek I, 222:9. (fr. BT). — He gewergad sæt, feðecempa frean eaxlum neah, wehte hyne wætre: him wiht ne speow :ne meahte he on eorðan - - - feorh gehealdan. Beow. 2854. — Se wonna hrefn fus ofer fægum (:sceal) fela reordian, earne secgan, hu him æt æte speow, þenden he wið wulfe wæl reafode. ibid. 3026. — Hwæt wearð eow swa rofum, rincas mine, þæt eow swa lyt gespeow? Andreas 1344. — Hwitloc anfeng wlanc under wædum, gif þæs weorces speow, fæmne fyllo. Riddle XLIII 4. — Þa seo gleawe het golde gefrætewod hyre ðinenne þancolmode þæs herewæðan heofod onwriðan & hyt to behðe blodig ætywan þam burgleodum, hu hyre æt beaduwe gespeow. Judith 175. — Hogedon þa eorlas aweccan hyra winedryhten: him wiht ne speow. ibid. 274. — - - - and hu him ða speow ægðer ge mid wige ge mid wisdome. Past. Care 3:8. — Þa him æt þære byrig ne gespeow, þa gelende he mid XXIIII M to anre oþerre byrig. Orosius 166:33. — Hu swiðe him speowe, nu gen þas ondweardan tide, þa ilcan þeowas cyðað. Bede 108:5. — Þa hie ða ongeaton, þæt him ne speow, ða sendon hie ærendgewrit to him. Lieb. 42, Af. El. 49:2 (871—901). — Þa for wel oft becumað to Gode, þe on eorðlicum weorcum hwonlice speowð.[1]) Ælfr. Hom. I 526. — Ðaða him þæs ne speow, ða - - -. ibid. II 474. A similar passage occurs in Ælfric's Homily on the Book of Judith, 113:362. Ac him speow hwonlice, þeah þe he swiðe spræce. Saints I 174:94. — ('He bade false magicians be brought unto him, that they with their enchantments might overpower the virgin of God'). Ac ðaþa him naht ne speow, þa het he spannan oxan to, - - -. ibid. 216:106. — Gesæh Pilatus ðæt him nawiht speou. Gosp. Matth., ch. XXVII, v. 24, Li. and Ru. — Bidde he god fultumes, aa him spewð þe bet. Benedict. Offic. 81:1. — Ac hī na speow nan þing þæron. Codex Dipl. IV 58 (A. D. 1038).

[1]) Late WSax. for *spewð*. See Sievers, § 113, Anm. 3.

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Note the construction: dat. personæ, genit. rei, occurring in some of the above sentences. See prefatory remarks to Group 4, p. 38 sqq.

The impersonal nature of some of these sentences is not beyond all question. It might be possible no doubt to suppose that words or phrases such as *wiht, lȳt, nān þing*, etc., occurring in several of them, are nouns, functioning in the syntactical capacity of subjects. In fact, Holthausen in his edition of Beowulf really takes the word *wiht* in the sentence: 'him wiht ne speow' (l.2854) to be a substantive; in other words, he evidently assumes the import to be: 'nothing availed'.

Against such an interpretation, however, it may be argued that, as far as I know, there does not exist a single unequivocal example of the verb *(ge)spōwan* with a nomin. rei for its subject. As is seen from the examples, the thing, etc., which proves a success, when mentioned, is always expressed by either a genitive or a preposit. phrase, except possibly in the passages under discussion. Nor does the import of these passages lay any obstacles in the way of an assumption of an adverbial function.[1]) Rather the reverse. Cp. the example quoted from Saints I 174:94: 'Ac him speow hwonlice, - - -'.

In view of facts such as these, I for one feel inclined to consider the words *wiht, lȳt*, etc., as adverbs, and the phrases in which they occur as impersonal. There is of course nothing that hinders us from assuming that *wiht, nān þing*, etc., function as subjects in some sentences, and as adverbs in others, i. e. if we disregard the fact that constructions of unmistakably personal character do not seem to be on record.

OE. *misspēwð, 'things turn out badly'.

OE. *misspōwan*, str verb, 'to succeed badly, fail', appears to be an isolated formation. The etymology, etc., of the simple

[1]) Note that the expression *nān þing*, an instance of which occurs in the passage from Codex Dipl. IV quoted above, is not given as an adverb, = 'not at all', by Sweet and CH. That it could have an adverbial function is proved, however, by the existence of sentences such as the following: 'Hit (definite subject) nu nan þinc þære sawle ne helpeð'. (Über das jüngste Gericht, Grein 3, 165:9).

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verb *(ge)spōwan* is given above. OE. *misspōwan* did not survive into ME.

Example found: (He) sæde þæt hit þæm cyninge læsse edwit wære, gif þæm folce buton him þagiet misspeowe, swa him ær dyde. Orosius 82:34.

There are no examples given by dictionaries of *misspōwan* as a personal verb.

OE. *getīdeð, 'it fares (so and so)'.

OE. *(ge)tīdan*, a denominative wk verb, 'to happen', is, like the corresponding verbs, ON. *tíða*, 'to desire, covet', MHG. *zîten*, 'to be time', and MLG. *tîden*, 'to desire, covet', ultimately derived from the noun, Prim. Teut. **tīði-*, 'time' (OE. *tīd*, 'time, season'). The derivation of the Prim. Teut. noun is uncertain. See Fick III, p. 160.

The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE. In ME. we find the forms *tiden*, *itide*, etc. Also the verb *bitiden*, 'to betide', NE. *betide*, which is not met with in OE. NE. *tide* is obsolete or archaic. The latest example of ME. *itide* given in NED is dated 1300.

Example found: Ne synga þu, þe-læs þe þe on sumon þingon wyrs getide. Gosp. John, ch. V, v. 14, Corp.

OE. *mistīdeð, 'things miscarry'.

OE. *mistīdan*, wk verb, 'to turn out badly, fail', appears to be an isolated formation. The etymology of the simple verb is given above. OE. *mistīdan* survived into ME., but died out during that period. The latest instance of ME. *mistiden* annotated by NED is dated 1421.

Example found: Gif æt lade mistide (:'if the attempt at exculpation prove a failure'; BT). Secular laws of King Cnut 57, Thorpe I 406:27.

No instances are given in dictionaries of *mistīdan* as a personal verb.

OE. (hit) getīmað, 'it fares (so and so)'.

The OE. denominative wk verb *(ge)tīmian*, 'to happen', WGerm. **tīmōjan*, derives ultimately from the Prim. Teut. noun **tīman*, 'time'. The derivation of this noun is uncertain. See

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Fick III, p. 160. On the identical Prim. Teut. substantive was formed also the corresponding ON. verb *tima*, 'to happen'.

The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE. ME. *time(n)*, *itimien*, meant 'to befall, happen'. Latest instance of this sense annotated by NED is dated 1400. NE. *time* = 'to appoint the time of', etc.

Examples found: Gif hit swa getimige, þæt - - -. Reg. Ben. 112:7. — Gif hit ðonne swa getimað, þæt - - -. ibid. 118:5. — And swiðe rihtlice him swa getimode. Ælfr. Hom. I 10. Similarly: ibid. 126; 216; 240; 242; 268; II 50; 116; 160; 164; 304; 420; Saints I 434:28; Ælfr. Canons, Thorpe II 352; Byrhtferð 323:2; 328:7. — Getimige me æfter ðinum worde. Ælfr. Hom. I 200. — Getimige us tela on lichaman, getimige us untela. ibid. 252. — Þa getimode his wife wyrs ðonne he beðorfte. ibid. II 142.

OE. hit went, 'it fares (so and so)'.

OE. *wendan*, wk verb, 'to turn, go, change', etc., had the following semantically and etymologically corresponding counterparts in the other Teut. dialects: OFris. *wenda*, OS. *wendian*, OHG. *wendan*, *wentan*, ON. *venda* and Goth. *wandjan*. These verbs, OE. *wendan* included, are the descendants of the Prim. Teut. verb **wanđjan*, 'to turn', a causative formation shaped on the Prim. Teut. str. verb **wenđan*, from Prim. Teut. verbal base **wenđ-*, 'to wind, turn'.

OE. *wendan* survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *wenden*, etc., and *wend*, respectively.

Example found: Ac ic wundrie swiðe swiðlice forhwi hit swa went swa hit nu oft deð. Boethius 125:7.

OE. (ge)wierð.[1])

OE. *(ge)weorðan*, str. verb, 'to happen, become', etc., had the following etymologically corresponding counterparts in other Teut. dialects: OFris. *wertha*, OS. *(gi)werthan*, OHG. *(gi)werdan*, ON. *verða* and Goth. *wairþan*, all = 'to become'. These verbs, as well as OE. *(ge)weorðan*, are the descendants of the Prim. Teut. str. verb **werþan*, 'to become' ('Eigentlich *vertere*,

[1]) As mentioned above, p. 69, the impersonal phrase *(ge)wierð* occurs with a variety of mutually fairly diverging shades of meaning, emanating doubtless from a common, primary sense.

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verti', Fick III, p. 397), a derivative from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **werþ-*, of the same import, < the IE. verbal root **u̯ert-*, an extension of **u̯er-*, 'to bend, turn', whence also Sanskr. *vártatē*, 'turns, passes, happens, is there, lives', *vartáyati*, 'causes to turn', OBulg. *vrutěti*, 'to turn, bore', Lat. *verto(r)*, 'I turn, am turned'.

The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE. ME. forms, (*ȝe-*) *wurðen*, etc. In NE. we encounter the 3rd pers. sg., subjunct. mood, present tense, form *worth* in the archaic phrase: 'woe worth the day'.

The significations attached to OE. *(ge)weorðan* as a verb of material import may be approximately grouped in three classes:

α. happen, fall out (so and so);

β. occur to, seem (good) to;

γ. a decision, an agreement takes place.

The lines of demarcation between these classes are necessarily vague. As to the presumable import 'fate turns him - - -', of the prototype of OE. *hine (ge)wierð*, v. ch. II, p. 206.

In some of the passages quoted below, the impersonal nature of the phrases in question is problematic.

Semantic class *α*: Ac unc furðor sceal weorðan æt wealle, swa unc wyrd geteoð. Beow. 2526. ('weorðan' a *copula* here?). — Næs ðeah eorla nan, þe þone wiggend aweccan dorste oððe gecunnian, hu ðone cumbolwigan wið ða halgan mægð hæfde geworden. Judith 259. — Sebastianus geseah hu ða Godes cempan ongunnon hnexian, and wearð him tomiddes (:'came amongst them'; sc. *he?*) Saints I 5:52. — Hwæt ða mathathias on mode wearð ge-ang-sumod, and ræsde to ðam were þe ðær wolde offrian, and ofsloh hine sona, and siððan þone oþerne þæs cynincges ðegn, þe hine ðær-to neadode, and to-wearp þæt deofol-gild, and wearð him awege (:'and departed from it;' sc. *he?*). ibid. II 25: 228. — Rodberd arc̃ b̃ & Ulf b̃ ge wendon ut æt Æst geate, & heora geferan, & ofslogon, & elles amyrdon manige iunge men, & ge wendon heom on an to Ealdulfes næse, & (sc. *he?*) wearð him þær on anon un wræste scipe, & ferde him on an ofer sæ. Chron. 181, E (A. D. 1052). Cp. MS. F· Þa Rodbert arb̃ ð geaxode, ða nam he his hors, & ferde him to Eadulfes næsse, & wearð him on anum un wræstum scipe, & ferde him on an ofer sæ.

The construction met with in several of these quotations is far from clear. Thus in the passage from Beowulf, l. 2526: 'Ac unc furðor sceal weorðan æt wealle, swa unc wyrd geteoð', the pronoun *unc* may be a dative, and *weorðan* may be considered to have lost its material import and to function merely as a copula = 'to become'. In the quotation from Judith, l. 259, on the other

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hand: '- - -, hu ðone cumbolwigan wið ða halgan mægð hæfde geworden', an original material import: 'how fate had turned the warrior - - -,' = 'how the warrior had fared - - -', was perhaps still discernible in OE. Note the accus. personæ, as well as the auxiliary *hæfde*.

As regards the phrases 'wearð him tomiddes', 'wearð him awege', 'wearð him on - - - scipe' (from Saints I 5:52, ibid. II 25:228, and Chron. 181, E and F, respectively), there is much, no doubt, that argues against an assumption of impersonal constructions and in favour of the interpretation given by BT, according to which the subject *he* is understood, and 'him' (at least in the two latter phrases; in the first, 'him' may as well belong to the prep. 'tomiddes') is a reflexive dative. Cp. the expression 'ferde him' of the passage from the Chronicle, p. 181, E and F. Here, the subject *he* is evidently implied, since the verb *fēran* cannot be an Impersonale. The constructive type: *he fēreð him* is on record. Further, there are extant a great many instances of *(ge)weorðan* as a personal verb expressing 'movement'. As examples: 'He aras of þam bedde and wearð uppon his horse'. Dial. Greg. 82:30. — 'Gif hi on ðam wuda weorþaþ - - -' (:'if they get in the wood'). Bt. Fox 88:16 (from BT).

Still, it would not seem to be altogether out of the question to assume that the phrases 'wearð him awege', 'wearð him on - - - scipe', etc., are relics of an original impersonal construction, and that, consequently, the personal structure of sentences such as: 'Gif hi on ðam wuda weorþaþ - - -', is secondary. It should be noted that there are no authentic instances of the construction *he him wierð* on record, as far as I know. Possibly, the pronoun 'him' in 'wearð him awege', etc., is secondary, having replaced an older accusative, the direct object in an impersonal phrase *hine (ge)wierð* = 'fate turns him'. Cp. the construction met with in the passage from Judith, l.259, quoted above. From ON. we may adduce the following sentence, occurring in the Fóstbroeðra saga: 'Heimamönnum Hávars þótti honum seint heim verða' (quoted from Fritzner), 'it seemed to Havar's servants that he came home late'.

Semantic class *β*: Þa ðæs monige gewearð, þæt hine seo brimwylf abroten hæfde. Beow. 1598. — Hafað þæs geworden wine Scyldinga, rices hyrde, ond

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þæt ræd talað, þæt he mið ðy wife wælfæhða dæl, sæcca gesette. ibid. 2026. — Hu gewearð þe þæs, wine leofesta, ðæt ðu sæbeorgas secan woldes, merestreama gemet. Andreas 307. — Hwi gewearð inc swa þæt gyt dorston fandian Godes? Ælfr. Hom. I 316. Similar examples ibid. 322; 418. — God gewreċð his forsewennysse, swa swa we sædon ær, hwilon ær, hwilon later, locahu him gewyrð. Ælfr. Sermo in Natale Unius Confessoris 62:257. — He deð swa swa hine silfne gewyrð. Ælfr. Preface 24:23. — Gif þæs geweorðe gesiðcundne mannan, þ he unrihthæmed genime, - - -. Anglo-Sax. Laws, Thorpe I 38:4. — Se halega gast hi todælþ be þam þe him gewyrð. Ags. Minora, Anglia XI, 108:13.

Semantic class γ: Ic ðe lange bæd, þæt ðu þone wælgæst wihte ne grette, lete Suð-Dene sylfe geweorðan guðe wið Grendel. Beow. 1996. — Ne sæde ic eow þ eowrum þeawum and minum ne miht ætgædere gewurðan? Dial. Greg. 105:21, MS. H. Cp. MS. C: - - - ne mihte an wise gewurðan (geþwærigan)?, and the Latin version: numquid non prius dixi vobis, quia vestris ac meis moribus minime conveniret? — Þa hie nanre sibbe ne gewearð, þa - - -. Orosius 204:33. — Þa heo þa þær gestaðolode & gesette wæron, þa ne meahte heo betweoh him geþwærigan & geweorðan (:they could not live in unity and harmony among themselves). Bede 272:32. — Ðam luste and geswencednysse naht eaðe on anum timan ne gewyrð. Ælfr. Hom. II 92. — - - -, swa swa him ær gewearð (:as they had previously agreed). Ælfr. Hom. on Gosp. John, ch. XVI, v. 16—22, Grein 3, p. 74, l.46. — Þæs caseres witan heora hlaford ofslogon, swa swa him eallum gewearð. Ælfr. De Veteri et Novo Test. 16:25. — And heo hæfde þone sceatt, swa swa him gewearð. Ælfr. Iudices, ch. XVI, v. 21. — Him gewearð anes, gif ænig leodscipe wæs ungewylde þam Casere, þonne send he him to swa fela eoroda. Jud. Thw. 161:35 (from BT). — Heo ða dydon, swa heo þær gewearð, þæt heo fæsten - - -. Wulfstan 226:27. — Þonne wyn ðu ongean ðone wuldres cyning, and gewurðe ðe and him. Evang. Nic. 502:21. — Ac swiðe hrædlice þæs ðe hi þæs geworden hæfde, heo gefor - - -. Chron. 105, C (A. D. 918). — Ða gewearð þam hlaforde and þam hyrigmannum wið anum peninge. Analecta Anglo-Sax., ed. Thorpe, p. 68. — Ðu freond, ne do ic þe nænne teonan; hula, ne gewearð unc to anum penincge? ibid. — Ge wearð him & þam folce on Lindesige anes þ hi hine horsian sceoldan. Chron. 145, E. (A. D. 1014).

It should be noted that many of the above quotations (classes β and γ) show constructions similar to those met with in the semantic groups 4 and 5. Thus the persons, etc., between whom an agreement, etc., is effected, occur in the shape of (pro)-nouns in the accus. (or dat.), and the thing agreed upon, when given, is expressed by a (pro)noun in the genit., or else by a prepositional phrase. See prefatory remarks to Group 4, p. 38 sqq.

To judge from dictionaries, there are no examples extant of *(ge)weorðan*, with the significations β and γ, as a personal verb.

Existing instances of the verb *(ge)weorðan*, with the specialized imports mentioned, in combination with an infinitive or a

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dependent clause are discussed in section B, pp. 120 and 136, respectively.

OE. *geþwærað, 'an agreement takes place'.

OE. *geþwærian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to agree', etc., was formed on the adj., OE. *geþwære, -ere*, 'united, not at variance', etc. The etymology of these OE. words is not clear. See e. g. PBB 43:394 and IF 30:48.

The OE. verb did not survive into ME.

Examples found: Þa heo þa þær gestaðolode & gesette wæron, þa ne meahte heo betweoh him geþwærigan & geweorðan. Bede 272:32. — He bæd hie & halsade þ hi on annesse sibbe and in gehylde rihtra eastrena geþwærede mid þa Cristes cyricean. ibid., ed. Schipper, Grein 4, 128:2, MS. T. The two other MSS. have *geþwæredon* and *gehwæredon*[1], respectively.

OE. hit wiersað, 'things become worse'.

OE. *wiersian*, wk verb, 'to become worse', was formed on the comparative adverb or adjective, Prim. Teut. **wersiz*, **wersiza-*, OE. *wiers, wiersa*, 'worse'. The derivation of the Prim. Teut. base **wers-* is contested. Cp. ON. *versna*, 'to become worse', OHG. and OS. *werran*, 'to confuse'. The OE. verb survived into ME., but died out in early NE. Latest instance of NE. *worse* given by Skeat is from the works of Milton.

Examples found: Swa swyðe hit wyrsað wide mid mannum, þ þæs hades men þe þurh Godes ege hwylum wæron nyttoste - - -, þa syndon nu wel forð unnyttaste gewelhwær. Inst. of Polity, Thorpe II 322. — Aa hit wyrsode mid mannan swiðor & swiðor. Chron. 217, E (A. D. 1085).

OE. hit *yfelað, 'things become bad', (hine[2]) him *geyfelað, 'his strength is failing, he falls ill'.

OE. (*ge*)*yfelian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to become bad,' lacks counterparts in other Teut. dialects. It was formed on the adjective, Prim. Teut. **ubila-*, OE. *yfel*, 'evil'.

The OE. verb survived into ME., but died out during that period. The latest instance recorded by NED, of ME. *uvelien*, etc., is from the 15th cent.

[1]) Concerning *hw-* for *þw-*, v. Sievers, § 201 Anm. 6.

[2]) The remarkable accus. personæ form, which seems to indicate an original import: 'infirmity takes hold of him' is recorded once, only.

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Examples found: Ða him eft geðuhte, ða nam he his feorme on Wulda ham & on ðam oþran wolde, ac hine ge yflade. Cart. Sax. III 329 ('before A. D. 988'). Cp. the Latin version: sed iterum infirmatus est. — La, nyde hit sceal eac on worulde for folces synnan yfeljan swyðe. Wulfstan 87:7. — And aa æfter þam hit yfelode swiþe. Chron. 121, D (A. D. 975); poetical passage. — Þæs ylcan geres forðferde Godwine eorl, & him ge yfelode ðær he mid þam cynge sæt on Wincestre. ibid. 185, D (A. D. 1053). — Reowlic þing he dyde, & reowlicor him gelamp. Hu reowlicor? him ge yfelade, & þ him stranglice eglode. ibid. 218, E (A. D. 1086).

Similar examples occur: Wulfstan 83:2; 156:6; Chron. 200, D (A. D. 1066).

OE. *ofercymð, 'a subjugation is effected'.

(Uncertain Impersonale).

OE. *ofercuman*, str. verb, 'to overcome', etc., like its counterparts in MLG. and OHG., *overkomen* and *ubarqueman*, 'supervenire', consists of the prepos. or adverb *ofer*, etc., in this case with prepositional force, and the simple verb. The etymology of *cuman* is given on p. 31. The OE. composite verb survived into ME. and NE., where there occur the forms *ofercumen*, etc., and *overcome*, respectively.

Example found: Sæt secg monig sorgum gebunden wean on wenan, wyscte geneahhe, þæt þæs cynerices ofercumen wære. Deor 26.

This most likely is a passive impersonal construction. Cp., however, the discussion on a similar phrase containing a form of the verb *sceþþan*, p. 76 above. If the construction is passive, it does not necessarily follow from the existence of such a formation that we are justified in presupposing also the occurrence of active impersonal phrases.

OE. *ofergæð, 'a discontinuance occurs'.

OE. *ofergān*, 'to come to an end, pass away', etc., is, like its equivalents in OS. and OHG., **obargân* and *ubargân*, 'to pass over, to cross', a compound verb made up of the prepos. or adverb *ofer*, here with adverbial force (OE. *ofer*, OS. *obar-*, etc.), and the simple verb *gān*. The etymology of OE. *gān* is given above, p. 38. The OE. compound verb survived into ME. and NE., where find the forms *ofergan*, etc., and *overgo*, respectively.

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Example found: Þæs ofereode, þisses swa mæg! (:'that trouble is over; so may this be!'; BT) Deor 7. The same phrase recurs as a refrain ibid. 13; 17; 20; 27, and 42.

Note the construction genit. rei.

OE. tōgangeð, 'a passing away occurs'.

OE. *tōgangan*, str. verb, 'to cease to exist, pass away', etc., derived with the OE. prefix *tō-*, < Prim. Teut. **tuz-*, 'asunder', had the following counterparts: OHG. *zakân, zegân, zigân*, and *zagên*, MHG. *zegân, zergân, zegên*, and *zergên*; OS. *tegangan, ti-, to-*, of cognate imports. Cp. the OHG. noun *zigangida, zur-*, etc., = 'a cessation'. The etymology of the simple OE. verb has been given on p. 73. OE. *tōgangan* survived into ME. and early NE. The latest instance of NE. *togang* annotated by NED, is dated 1596.

Example found: Ne togongeð þæs gumena hwylcum ænigum eaþe, þæt ic þær ymb sprice (:'what I [the bow] speak of [viz. a wound from a poisoned arrow], does not easily pass away from any man'). Riddle XXIV 10.

Note the construction: dat. personæ, genit. rei. Cp. precursory remarks to Group 4, p. 38 sqq.. OE. *tōgangan*, with the import given above, does not occur as a personal verb.

OE. tōsæl(e)ð, 'a deficiency occurs'.

OE. *tōsælan*, wk verb, 'to lack, fail in', like *tōgangan* derived with the Prim. Teut. prefix **tuz-*, 'asunder', stands quite isolated, as it appears. For the etymology of the simple verb, see p. 75 above. OE. *tōsælan* did not survive into ME.

Examples found: Ne tosæleþ him on þam gegnpaþe guþgemotes, siþþan ic þurh hylles hrof geræce (:'he, the dog, will not want for fighting, when I, the badger, reach through the hill's roof'; BT). Riddle XVI 25. — Ic (:the anchor) beom strong þæs gewinnes, gif ic stille weorþe; gif me þæs tosæleð (:'if I fail in that'; BT), hi beoþ swiþran ðonne ic. Riddle. XVII 5.

Note the construction: dat. personæ, genit. rei. Cp. precursory remarks to Group 4, p. 38 sqq. There are no examples on record of this verb in personal use.

Subcategory b: Expressions referring to the state of things: *subservience to ends (fitness, convenience,*

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sufficiency, necessity, is at hand); moral fitness (fitness, propriety, is at hand); relation is at hand; custom prevails; it exists, occurs (is written).

The following are the verbs belonging to this subcategory: (Subservience to ends) *dugan, gehagian, onhagian, genugan, (ge)nyhtsumian, behōfian, (ge)nēodian,* and *beþurfan;* (moral fitness) *gebyrian, gedafenian, belimpan,* and *gerīsan;* (relation) *gebyrian, belimpan*[1]*;* (custom) *gewunian;* (existence) *verbum substantivum, fylgan (fylgean),* and *standan.*

OE. hit *dēag, 'there is goodness'.

OE. *dugan,* 'to avail, be good, etc.,' belongs to the preterite-presents. The form *dēag,* like its etymologically and semantically corresponding equivalents, OS. *dôg,* OHG. *toug, touc,* and Goth. *dauh,* is the descendant of the Prim. Teut. preterite-present **đauy,* 'to be good, to avail.' The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE., where we find the infinitive forms *duȝen,* etc., and *dow,* respectively. NE. *dow* is obsolete, except in Scottish and Northern dialects.

Examples found: Ne dohte hit ær þisum inne ne ute, ac wæs here and hunger. Wulfstan 128:14. Similar passages occur ibid. 159:17; 162:13; 268:20. — Þa ne duhte naðor þisse þeoda ne suðan ne norðan. Chron. 144, E (A. D. 1013).

OE. hine (him) gehagað, 'convenience takes hold of (is at hand for) him' (= 'he has an opportunity, etc.').

The etymology, etc., of the OE. verb **hagian* has been given on p. 45, above.

Examples found: Swa hwylc minra fædrenmega swa ðæt sio ðæt hine to ðan gehagie ('it is within his means or power') ðæt he ða oðoro lond begeotan mæge & wille, ðonne gebycge he ða lond æt hire mid halfe weorðe. Codex Dipl. II 120:24 (9th cent.). — Þenne an hio his ðæm hiwum to Wintan ceastre æfter hire dege into hære beddarn æt ðam bisceop stole mid swelcan yrfe swelcan hi ðenne to ge hagað. Cart. Sax. II 207 (A. D. 891). — Ac þonne ge to cyrican cumen, þonne bringe ge eowre ælmessan to Godes weofode, swa eow fyrmest gehagie. Ermahnung zu christl. Leben, Grein 3, p. 143, l. 129. — Utan frefrjan ahwænede and hyrtan ormode, alysan gehæfte, gif us to ðam gehagje. Wulfstan 119:9. A similar example occurs ibid. 209:6.

[1]) There is a close semantic relationship between the verbs of this subdivision and those implying *moral fitness.*

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As is seen from these examples, the person concerned is represented by a (pro)noun in the accusative (or dative), while the thing, etc., with regard to which an opportunity, etc., exists, when given, is expressed by means of a prepositional phrase. Cp. *onhagian* as a verb appertaining to the semantic group 4 (p. 45 above), and the same verb with the sense 'convenience, etc., is at hand', considered in the following. There are no instances on record of *gehagian* in personal constructions.

OE. hine (him) onhagað, 'convenience takes hold of (is at hand for) him' (= 'he has an opportunity, etc.')[1].

The etymology, etc., of the OE. verb **hagian* has been given on p. 45 above.

Examples found: Gif men to goodum weorce ne onhagie, hæbbe goodne willan. Boethius 142:19. — Se ðe ægþer gescop and ægþeres wilt, forgife me þæt me to ægðrum onhagige, ge her nytwyrðe to beonne, ge huru þider to cumane. Aug. Soliloquies 2:16. — Ic hyt ongynne, gyf me onhagað (:'if I feel inclined', or 'if I find an opportunity'?). ibid. 46:5. — Ðonne hit (:the mind) bið onstyred mid ðære lustbærnesse, & hit onhagað to ðæm ðingum, ðonne forlæt hit hrædlice ða weorc ðæs inneran godan willan, ðonne hit onhagað to ðæm uterran. Past. Care 417:13. (Uncertain construction; cp. the Latin version: si facultas exterior suppetat). — Hergodon on Norþ Wealas æghwær be þam sæ, þær hie þonne on hagode (probably = 'where they found an opportunity'). Chron. 98 A (A. D. 918). — Eahtoðe, þæt we us gegaderian a emban ænne monað, gif we magon & - - -, swa mid byttfyllinge swa elles us toanhagie (:'whenever else we have leisure'; cp. the Latin version: sicut poterimus). Lieb. 178, VI As 8:1 (930—940). — Her is seo æ, þe ðu under hire tæcincge winnan wylt and campian; gif ðe onhagige, þæt ðu hit healdan mæge, far ðe inn; gif þe ne onhagige, far ðe freoh þyder, ðe þu wille. Reg. Ben. 96:23. — Ac ure æghwilc fæst be þam þe him to an-hagað. Saints II 338:71. — Aþweað þearfena fet and him fodan doð; scrud, gif eow to onhagige. Ælfr. Past. Letters 158. — Do gehwa georne on godes est, beþam þe hine fyrmest onhagige. Ermahnung zu christl. Leben, Grein 3, p. 141, l. 85. — Deofol sæwð and sendeð arleasnesse and gelærð swa, þæt ungesælig man ne arige ahwar, þær hine to onhagige. Wulfstan 53:23. — And manna gehwylc on godes est his ælmessan bliðelice sylle be þam þe hine onhagje. ibid. 103:5. — We eow biddað, þæt ge dæghwamlice dælan ælmessan be ðam dæle, þe ælcum men to onhagige. ibid. 238:26. — Gyf þonne þissa þreora þinga (:old age, extreme youth, or unhealth) ænig hwylcne man

[1]) As mentioned already, when speaking of the etymologically identical Impersonale *onhagað* belonging to the semantic group 4 (v. p. 45 above), it is not always easy to decide which import: '(he) feels inclined', etc., or '(he) has an opportunity', is the one meant to be expressed.

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lette, þæt hine to ðam fæstene ne onhagje, þonne - - -. ibid. 285:5. — And gelæste ælc wuduwe þa heregeatu binnan XII monðum, butan hyre ær to onhagie, witeleas. Lieb. 360, II Cn. 73:4 (c. 1030). — Gif hine onhagige, gefreoge ænne man for Godes lufon. Poenit. Ecgberti 192. (Cp. the Latin version: si facultatem habeat, hominem, ex amore Dei, liberet). — Gif hine to swa mycclum ne onhagige, þonne sylle he XX scillinga. ibid. 222:2. — Gif hit þonne þearfigende mann beo þ him to X ne onhagige, sylle III scyllinga. ibid. l. 5. — Se cyning hine under feng, & swa feola his geferan swa him to onhagode. Chron. 176, D. (A. D. 1052).

As is seen from the above quotations, the construction of *onhagað* coincides with that of the cognate Impersonale *gehagað* (v. above).

The structure of the passage from Past. Care 417:13 is uncertain, as hinted already. Is the pronoun *hit* in the phrase 'hit onhagað to - - -' a mere formal subject here, or a grammatical subject of definite import (:the mind), or the direct object (:the mind) of the verb? Since there are no unquestionable instances on record of this verb with a nomin. personæ for its subject, the assumption of *hit* as functioning in the capacity of a subject may no doubt be eliminated. Of the two remaining alternatives, the one mentioned last is perhaps the most probable.

Existing constructions of the types: *hine* (*him*) *onhagað* in conjunction with an infinitive, and: *hine* (*him*) *onhagað* combined with a subordinate clause, are considered in section B, pp. 121 and 138, respectively.

OE. geneah, 'there is sufficiency'.

OE. *genugan*, 'to suffice', appertains to the group of preterite-presents. OE. *geneah*, and its etymologically corresponding equivalents, OHG. *ganah*, Goth. *ganah*, 'gives satisfaction', etc., are the representatives of the Prim. Teut. preterite-present **nah-*, 'to suffice, give satisfaction', from the IE. verbal root **(e)neḱ-*, whence also e. g. Sanskr. *náçati*, OBactr. *nasaiti*, 'reaches', Lat. *nanciscor*, perf. *nactus sum*, 'I reach'. Cp. Goth. *ganōhjan*, ON. *nægja*, OHG. *ginuogan*, OFris. *nôgia*, all = 'to give satisfaction', from Prim. Teut. **yanōhian*, **yanōyian*, 'to suffice, give satisfaction', from the Prim. Teut. adjective **yanōha-*, **yanōya-*, OE. *genōg*, 'enough'. The OE. verb did not survive into ME.

Examples found: Hord sceal in streonum bidan, gifstol gegierwed stondan,

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hwonne hine guman gedælen. Gifre biþ, se þam golde onfehð, guma þæs on heahsetle geneah. Gnomic Verses Ex. 70. (Uncertain construction). — Ac we sculon þoncian þeodne mærum awa to ealdre, þæs þe us se eca cyning on gæste wlite forgiefan wille, þæt we eaðe magon upcund rice forð gestigan, gif us on ferðe geneah (:'if in our souls we be not wanting'; BT). Creation 35.

The construction and signification of the second part of the passage from the Gnomic Verses are not quite clear. BT (s. v. *geneah*) suggests the reading *guman* instead of *guma*. But why not rather: *guma þǣm*, or *þone*? Note that according to Grimm IV, p. 272, OHG. *ganah* is constructed with accus. personæ. It may be pointed out, however, that in a few instances the cognate verb *(ge)nyhtsumian* is recorded as a personal verb with, as it appears, the import 'to have abundance', viz. in the Gospel of St. Matthew, ch. XIII, v. 12, and ch. XXV, v. 29, Ru., where we find the phrase 'genyhtsumað,' as a rendering of the Latin 'abundabit'.

OE. (ge)nythsumað, 'there is sufficiency'.

(Uncertain Impersonale).

OE. *(ge)nyhtsumian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to suffice, be abundant', and its etymologically and semantically corresponding equivalent in OHG., *ginuhtsamôn*, were formed on the adjectives, OE. *genyhtsum*, 'satisfied, abundant', and OHG. *ginuhtsam*, 'sufficient', etc., from the Prim. Teut. noun **ya-nuhti-*, 'sufficiency, abundance', a formation in *-ti*, from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **nah-*, 'to suffice', etc. (v. OE. *geneah*, above). The OE. suffix *-sum* stands in ablaut-relation to the OHG. suffix *-sam* (Prim. Teut. adjective **sama-*, 'the same'). The OE. verb did not survive into ME.

Examples found: Ac se ungesæliga gytsere wile mare habban þonne him genihtsumað, þonne he furðon orsorh ne bricð his genihtsumnysse. Ælfr. Hom. I 64. — Sume men wenað þæt him genihtsumige to fulfremedum læcedome, gif hi - - -. ibid. 124. — Ða snoteran mædenu andwyrdon ðam stuntum and cwædon: 'Þi-læs ðe hit ne genihtsumige us and eow, farað to ðam syllendum, and bicgað eow ele'. ibid. II 570. A similar example occurs in the Gospel of St. Matthew, ch. XXV, v. 9, Ru.

It is difficult to decide whether the verb *(ge)nyhtsumian* is personal or impersonal in these passages. Cp. unmistakably personal constructions such as the following: 'Anes engles geearnung

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ne genihtsumode to alysednesse ealles mancynnes'. Boutr. Scrd. 17:37 (quoted from BT).

With regard to the quotation from the Homilies of Ælfric I, p. 124, in particular, the contents of the if-clause may without doubt rightly be considered as the subject of the phrase 'him genihtsumige- - -'. See section B, p. 138.

OE. behōfað, 'there is necessity, need'.

OE. *behōfian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to need, require', is, like its etymologically and semasiologically corresponding equivalents: OFris. *bihôvia*, and MLG. *behoven*, the descendant of WGerm. **hōbōjan*, from the Prim. Teut. noun **hōba-*, 'moderation'. From Prim. Teut. **hōba-*, is derived also ON. *hœfa*, 'to aim', 'to be fitting, proper'. (Prim. Teut. **hōbian*). The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *bihofien* and *behove*, *behoove*, respectively.

Examples found: Ælces licuman æagan behofað þreora þinga on hym silfum to habbæne, feorðe byt (sic) þæt hit secð, and to hym geteon wolde. Aug. Soliloquies 27:11. (Corrupt?; v. discussion below). — Wat forðon fader iuer forðon of ðæm allum ge behofes, ⁊ iuh behofes. Gosp. Matth., ch. VI, v. 32. Li. Cp. the version of the Latin text: scit enim pater uester quia his omnibus indigetis. — Ac hraðe þæs þe he ham com, he his fyrde ge gaderode, & into Engle lande hergende mid maran unræde ferde þone him abehofode (= 'a behofode', accord. to BTS). Chron. 228, E (A. D. 1093).

The first passage quoted above offers a curious aspect. If we compare the Latin version: 'Ergo animæ tribus quibusdam rebus opus est ut oculos habeat quibus iam bene uti possit, ut aspiciat, ut videat', it becomes evident that King Ælfred's rendering is somehow or other mutilated or contorted. For a discussion of this passage, v. Endter's edition of St. Augustine's Soliloquies, Grein II, p. 81. See also section B, p. 121.

The construction of the verb *behōfian* as an Impersonale is not clear. The dat. personæ alone seems fairly certain. Cp. the extant personal phrases of the type: *hē behōfað* + *genit. rei*. Note that this type appears to be the only one used in poetry. As an example: 'Nu is se dæg cumen, þæt ure mandryhten mægenes behofað godra guðrinca'. Beow. 2647. Concerning the origin of the constructive type: *nomin. personæ* (*as subject*) + *verb* +

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genit. rei, see van Wijk, *Der Nominale Genetiv Singular*, p. 95. There are no examples on record, to my knowledge, of personal constructions having a nomin. rei for their subject, whether in poetical texts or in prose.

The few instances extant of *behōfian* in combination with an infinitive or a dependent clause are considered in section B, pp. 121 and 139, respectively.

OE. (ge)nēodað, 'there is necessity, need'.

OE. *(ge)nēodian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to be required', is the same verb, according to Sweet and CH, as *nēadian*, 'to force, compel'. NED mentions two verbs: 1. *need*, 'to force', obsolete, < OE. *nīedan* (*nēadian*), a denominative verb from the noun *nēad*, 'need'; 2. *need*, the verb still in use, < OE. *nēodian*, a denominative verb of rare occurrence, from the noun *nēod*, 'need'. This latter OE. substantive, *nēod*, generally meant 'desire, zeal', etc., but occasionally occurs with the sense of OE. *nēad*, *nīed*, i. e. 'need'. The verb *nēodian*, on the other hand, had the sense given above, only. All these verbs and nouns are the descendants of the Prim. Teut. substantives **nauđi-*, 'pressure, need', and **neuđa-*, 'desire', formed on the Prim. Teut. verbal base **nu-*, 'to press'. From Prim. Teut. **nauþi-*, **nauđi-* are derived also the Prim. Teut. verbs **nauþian*, **nauđian*, 'to force, compel', whence Goth. *nauþjan*, ON. *neyđa*, OHG. *nôtjan*, *nôten*, OS. *nôdian*, OFris. *nêda*, and OE. *nīedan*, all = 'to force, compel'.

A partial confusion appears to have taken place in OE. of two originally distinct groups of words. Cp. on the one hand, Prim. Teut. **nauđi-*, 'pressure, need', and Prim. Teut. **neuđa-*, 'desire', and, on the other, OE. *(nēad) nīed*, *nēod*, 'need', and *nēod*, 'desire'. The other Teut. dialects do not show this development, to judge from dictionaries. Thus e. g. OS. *nôd*, < **nauđi-*, meant 'pressure, embarrasmenst', only, while the sole import of OS. *niud*, < **neuđa-*, was 'desire'.

The OE. verb *(ge)nēodian* survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *(i)neden*, etc., and *need*, respectively.

Examples found: Þæs abbodes foresceawung sceal beon be þisum, hu þæs neodige. Reg. Ben. 88:8. — Gyf þ geneodige þ ure ænig to oðrum fæce mid yrfe. The Anglo-Saxon Laws, Thorpe I, 156:10. — Gyf þe smælre candelle ge-

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neodige, - - -. Indicia Monast. 120:20. — Ðonne þe martirlogium geneodie. ibid. 121:1.

The impersonal character of the construction met with in one or two of these passages is questionable. Thus in the quotation from the Anglo-Saxon Laws, the letter *þ* in the phrase 'þ geneodige' may stand for the nomin., or the accusative form *þæt*, or else it is short for the genitive *þæs*. Likewise, the construction of the last passage cited is not clear, since we cannot know for certain what case the form *martirlogium* represents.

As is seen from the quotations given, there are unmistakable examples on record of a genit. rei. On the other hand, no instances seem to be extant of personal constructions having a nomin. rei for their subject. An assumption of an accus. rei, i. e. a direct object in the doubtful constructions in question would seem to find a support in the fact that examples are met with of the cognate verb *beþurfan* in personal transit. phrases such as: 'Do hym þanne hnesce mettas & godne drincan, eal swa hit beforen seið, swylce hwile swa he[1]) hit beþurfe'. (*περὶ διδ.*, Cockayne III 112). — 'Gif þu taperas[1]) beþurfe, - - -.' (Excerptione Ecgberti, Thorpe II 120). — Hi nabbað þa lare þe hi beþorfton. (Inst. of Polity, Thorpe II 328). (See the discussion on the Impersonale **beþearf*, below). On the other hand, cp. extant phrases of the type: *Ic behōfie* + *genit. rei* (v. above), as well as *Ic beðearf* + *genit. rei* (e. g.: 'Ic arna beþearf', Exon. Th. 285:17 [quoted from BT]). Cp. also ON.: *ek þarf þess*, 'I want this'.

The verb *(ge)nēodian* is met with also, though very rarely, in combination with a dependent clause. For a discussion of the one instance found by me, v. section B, p. 139.

OE. *beþearf, 'there is necessity, need'.

OE. *beþurfan*, 'to require, need', belongs to the preterite-presents. The simple verb **þurfan*, 'to require, need', etc., is, like its etymologically and semasiologically corresponding equiva-

[1]) Note that the editor of *περὶ διδαξέων* has altered, unnecessarily, as it appears, the phrase *he hit beþurfe* of the MS. into *him hit beþurfe*, and that BT, (s. v. *beþurfan*), to the quotation from Thorpe II 120 given there, adds the question *taperes?*

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lents: OFris. **thurva*, OS. *thurban*, OHG. *durfan*, 'to need, to be allowed', etc., ON. *þurfa*, and Goth. **þaúrban*, the descendant of the Prim. Teut. infinitives **þurban*, **þurfan*, formed on the present (originally preterite) tense, plural number, forms (OE. *þurfon*), from the Prim. Teut. verbal bases **þurþ-*, **þurf-*, 'to need' (also = 'to be allowed'). Cp. the ON. verb *þarfa*, 'to be necessary', < Prim. Teut. **þarbōn*, *-ēn*, formed on Prim. Teut. **þarba-*, adjective, 'necessary', **þarbō*, noun, 'want'. The Prim. Teut. base **þurþ-*, etc., corresponds to the IE. verbal root **terp-*, etc. Cp. the IE. root **terb-*, whence OBulg. *trěbovati*, 'to need'. The OE. verb *beþurfan* had the following counterparts: OHG. *pidurban*, etc., and OS. *bithurban*, 'to need'. The OE. verb survived into ME.. but not into NE. ME. *biþarf*, etc.

Examples found: Ðonne þe salteres beþurfe, þonne stric þu mid þinum swyðran scytefinger on þine wynstran hand. Indicia Monast. V 32. — Gyf þe disces beþurfe, þonne - - -. ibid. VIII 53. — Gyf þe nædle beþurfe, þonne - - -. ibid. XVIII 110. — Do þus þa lange þe (:*swa* lange þe? Cp. *þa hwile þe*, 'as long as') hit beþurfe. *περί διδ.*, Cockayne III 114 (personal construction?). — And ich bidde ei eou allen ðæt ge him fulstan to driuan Godes gerichte, lock huer hit neod sy and heō eowwer fultumes biðurfe. Codex Dipl. IV 196 (A. D. 1066). A similar passage ibid. 198.

Note the constructive type: dat. personæ, genit. rei.

The impersonal nature of the passage from *περί διδαξέων* is not beyond all question. The phrase 'hit beþurfe' may possibly be personal, *hit* having a definite import implied in the preceding clause, and the import of the sentence is: 'as long as this may be needed'. As in the case of the semantically cognate verbs *behōfian* and *(ge)nēodian* (see above), there are, however, no unmistakable examples extant with this verb of a nomin. rei, in the capacity of subject. It appears preferable, no doubt, to consider the pronoun *hit* as a purely formal subject here, in other words, the import probably is: 'as long as there is need'.

In the Rushworth Gospel of St. Matthew, ch. V, v. 30, and ch. XVIII, v. 6, the verb *beþurfan* occurs in combination with dependent clauses. See section B, p. 139.

OE. (hit) gebyreð, 'it is fitting, proper'.

As to the etymology, etc., of OE. *gebyrian*, v. Group 4, p. 57.

Examples found: Syððan hine man byrigde, swa him wel gebyrede. Chron.

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160, C (A. D. 1036); (poetical passage). A similar example ibid. 188, D (A. D. 1057) (poetical passage). — (He) hine geleahtrode, swa swa hit gebyrede. Dial. Greg. 238:16. — Sylle his heorðpænig on halgan Ðunresdæg, ealswa ælcan frigean men gebyreð. Lieb. 446, Rect. 3:4 (960—1060). Similar passages occur: Consuet. monach. 296; Lieb. 134, Eadw. 12 (c. 930); ibid. 258, VI Atr. Appendix 50 (c. 980—1060); ibid. 267, VIII Atr. 34 (A. D. 1014); ibid. 458, Geþyncðo 7 (1030—1060); Ælfr. Hom. I 2; Ælfr. Past. Epistle 382; Ælfr. Genesis 107:18; Wulfstan 33:18; Inst. of Polity 320; Sermo in festis Mariæ 101:128. — Se ðe ðone cyng sece, ær he him ryhtes bidde swa oft swa him togebyrie, gilde ðæt ilce wite. Lieb. 152, II As. 3 (925—c. 935); (personal construction?). — Ðonne þis gedon bið eal fullice wel, swa to ðære cristnunge gebyreð, þonne - - -. Wulfstan 35:21. — Godes lagum fylge (:man) & lareowum hlyste, swa þærto gebyrige. Lieb. 471, Grið 19 (1030—1070). Similar passages occur: ibid. 224, II Atr. Appendix 8:1 (A. D. 991); ibid. 240, V Atr. 13 (A. D. 1008); ibid. 263, VIII Atr. Prol. (A. D. 1014); ibid. 356, II Cn. 71 a (c. 1030); ibid. 392, Wer 3 (c. 950—c. 1050); Wulfstan 13:11; ibid. 34:7; Inst. of Polity 316; ibid. 340.

The impersonal nature of the construction occurring in the above quotations is not in every case unquestionable. Thus in the passage from the Dialogues of Gregor, p. 238, the construction is probably personal. Cp. unmistakably personal formations such as: 'Stor gebyreþ to Godes þegnunge' (quoted from Sweet). It goes without saying that verbs such as *gebyrian, gedafenian* and *gerīsan* are of frequent occurrence in personal sentences with a nomin. rei for their subject.

For a discussion of existing sentences consisting of a tense of *gebyrian*, 'to be fitting, proper', in combination with an infinitive or a subordinate clause, see section B, pp. 122 and 140.

OE. (hit) gedafenað, 'it is fitting, proper'.

OE. *gedafenian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to be fitting, proper', was formed on the adjective, OE. *gedafen*, 'fitting', originally the past participle of a str. verb, Prim. Teut. **đaƀan* (**đōƀ*), 'to be fitting', from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **đaƀ-*, of the same import, whence also Goth. *gadaban*, 'to be fitting', and ON. *dafna*, 'to increase in strength' (of youth; originally 'to become able'). The OE. verb did not survive into ME.

Examples found: Þa dydon hi swa hit halgum ge dafnode. Chad 146:208. — His abbodes bebodum on eallum þingum he sceal hyran, þeah hit sy, swa swa hit ne gedafenað, þæt he wyrs do, þonne he lære. Reg. Ben. 18:14. — - - -, gif hi willað Godes lage healdan, swa swa heora hade gedafenað mid rihte. Ælfr.

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Past. Epistle 388. Similar examples occur: Ælfr. Canons 348; Lieb. 267, VIII Atr. 30 (A. D. 1014).

The construction occurring in some of these passages may no doubt be considered as personal. Cp. e. g.: 'Well þæt gedafenað, þæt - - -'. Crist II 551.

As to existing cases of *gedafenian*, without any (pro-)nominal subject, but in combination with an infinitive or a dependent clause, see section B, pp. 122 and 140.

OE. belimp(e)ð, 'it is fitting, proper'.

The etymology, etc., of the simple verb *limpan* is given on p. 74, above. OE. *belimpan* survived into ME. Latest instances given by NED of ME. *belimpen*, etc., are from the 13th cent.

Examples found: We him þis sellað mid felda & mid wuda & mid fenne swa þer to belimpeð. Cart. Sax. II 58. — Þonne ealle forgielden þone wer gemænum hondum & ealle an wite, swa to ðam were belimpe. Lieb. 64, Af. 31:1 (871—901). — Þa Godes þeowas heora tidsangas & heora cyricean mid rihte healdan, & þa læwedan, swa him mid rihte tobelimpe. Blickl. Hom. 49:1.

Cp. *belimp(e)ð*, 'relation exists', below.

OE. *gerīst, 'it is fitting, proper'.

OE. *gerīsan*, str. verb, 'to be fitting, proper', had the following etymologically and semasiologically corresponding equivalents, viz. OS. **girîsan* and OHG. *garîsan* ('eigentlich: zusammenfallen mit'; Fick III 345). The simple verb, OE. *rīsan*, etc., is the descendant of the Prim. Teut. str. verb **rīsan*, 'to move perpendicularly, upwards or downwards, to rise or fall'. Prim. Teut. **rīsan* is derived from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **ris-*, of the same import. The OE. verb *gerīsan*, 'to be fitting, proper', survived into ME. The latest instance adduced by NED, of ME. *irise* is from c. 1200.

Examples found: His þegne ongan, swa þam þeodne geras, þurh gæstes giefe godspel bodian. Guðlac B 1087. — He het þa gearcian to heora gyftum swiðe mænigfealde mærða, swa him mihte gerisan. Ælfr. Be Hester 95:104.

The following quotation, from De XII Abusivis 300, may serve as an illustration of the frequently occurring cases of this verb in personal constructions: 'Wisdom gerist werū & wifum'.

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Sentences of the type: (*him*) *gerīst* + *an infinitive* or *a dependent clause*, are considered in section B, pp. 122 and 140.

OE. him gebyreð tō - - -, 'relation to - - - is at hand for him' (= 'he has to do with - - -, stands in relation to - - -').

As to the etymology, etc., of OE. *gebyrian*, 'to pertain to', see the identical verb with the signification 'to care', Group 4, p. 57, above. *Gebyrian* is met with, also, having the imports: 'to happen', and 'to be fitting, proper' (v. present group, pp. 70 and 94).

Examples found: Næs he æðelboren, ne him naht (adv.) to þam cynecynne ne gebyrode (:'and was in no way connected with - - -'). Ælfr. Hom. I 80. — Him ne gebyrað naht to us. ibid. 270. — Sege me nu her openlice on hwilcere byrig þu geboren wære, oþþe to hwilcere byrig þe to gebyrige. Ða cwæð he him to andwyrde: Leof, swa ic læte on minum geþance þæt me to nanre byrig swa rihte ne gebyrige swa to þissere byrig, þæs þe me þincð. Saints I 530. — Ne gebirað him nan ðyngc (adv.) naþer ne to wife ne to world-wigge, gif hi Gode willað rihtlice gehiran. Ælfr. Past. Epistle 388. A similar passage occurs Lieb. 266, VIII Atr. 30 (A. D. 1014). — Hwæt synd þas? Gebyrað him aht to þe? Ælfr. Genesis, ch. XXXIII, v. 5.

OE. him belimp(e)ð tō - - -, 'relation to - - - is at hand for him' (= 'he has to do with - - -, is concerned with - - -').

The etymology, etc., of the simple verb *limpan* is given on p. 74 above. OE. *belimpan*, 'to pertain to', survived into ME. The latest example adduced by NED, of ME. *bilimpen* in this sense is from c. 1270.

Example found: We þeah rædað, þæt munecum eallunga to windrince naht ne belimpe. Reg. Ben. 64:22.

Cp. the same phrase *belimp(e)ð* with the signification 'it is fitting, proper', above. Concerning the syntactical capacity of the dependent clause in existing cases of complex sentences of the type: *belimp(e)ð þæt* - - -, see section B, p. 127. As an example of the verb *belimpan* with a nomin. rei for its subject, the following quotation may be adduced: 'And to ðam Suna belimpe seo acennednys, and to þam Halgan Gaste seo forðstæppung'. Ælfr. Hom. I 500.

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OE. him *gewunað, 'he takes up his abode (dwells)'.
(Uncertain Impersonale).

OE. *gewunian*, wk verb, 'to inhabit, dwell', etc., had the following etymologically corresponding equivalents in other Teut. dialects: OFris. *wona, wuna*, OS. *wonôn, wunôn*, OHG. *wonôn, -ên*, all = 'to dwell' (»d. h. 'gewohnt sein'»; Feist, p. 293), ON. *una*, 'to be satisfied', and Goth. **wunan*, of the same import. These Teut. verbs, OE. *gewunian* included, are all the descendants of the Prim. Teut. verb **wunēn*, etc., 'to be satisfied, accustomed, to dwell', from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **wen-*, 'to like, desire'. According to Kluge (s. v. *wohnen*), NHG. *wohnen* (OHG. *wonôn, -ên*) originally meant as much as: 'to feel pleased somewhere'. Cp. Walde (s. v. *venus*): »Wohnung als gemütliches, trautes Heim». The Prim. Teut. base **wen-* corresponds to the IE. root **u̯en-*, whence also e. g. Sanskr. *vánati, vanóti*, 'likes, desires'. The OE. verb survived into ME., but not into NE. ME. form *iwunien*, etc.

Example found: He þa se fear þæs hyrdes drafe forhogode & him on þæt westen gewunode to sumes scræfes dura (:took up his abode in the wilderness - - -). Blickl. Hom. 199:8.

Is this a personal or an impersonal construction? There are not a few instances extant, according to dictionaries, of *(ge)wunian* with the import 'to live' in combination with a nomin. personæ with the function of a subject, though none of the type: *he him* (reflexive dative) *gewunað*. An assumption of an impersonal construction here appears quite possible. With regard to this question, see ch. II, p. 213. The very rare instances found by me, of the phrase *gewunað* in conjunction with a subordinate clause are considered in section B, p. 140.

OE. hit is, 'it exists (is written)'.

The prototype of OE. *is*, 'is', with equivalents in all the IE. languages, is IE. **es-ti*, from the root **es-*. As to the original import of this root, see e. g. Brugmann, *Kurze Vergl. Gram.* § 861 c, Paul, *Prinzipien* § 206.

Example found: Ac eal swa swa hit ys on ðan gewrite ðe se papa hæfð giuen, oððe ða haligan weras ge setton ðe beoð ure fæderas and ure lareowas be haligum mynstrum, swa hi beliuon un awemmed. Cart Sax. I 404 (A. D. 798).

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Verbum substantivum with, presumably, the import 'to exist', frequently occurs in combination with infinitive constructions and dependent clauses. For a discussion on the personal or impersonal character of such sentences, see section B, pp. 123 and 135 sq.

OE. *fylgð, 'there follows in writing'.
(Uncertain Impersonale).

The form *fylgð* (or *fyligð*, with a svarabhakti vowel; see Wright § 220) is the present tense of the verb *fylg(e)an*, 'to follow', a collateral form of OE. *folgian* (NE. *follow*), both < Prim. Teut. **fulyēn*, 'to follow'. For an explanation of these forms, see K. F. Sundén, *Are Old English intransitive-inchoative ō-verbs originally ai-verbs?*, pp. 282—312.[1]) The OE. verbs had the following counterparts in other Teut. dialects: OS. *folgian, folgôn*, OHG. *folgên*, 'to follow', and ON. *fylgja*, 'to follow, assist'. OE. *fylg(e)an* did not survive into ME.

Example found: Soðlice on ðam godspelle fyligð: And hi - - -. Ælfr. Hom. I 410.

It is evidently quite possible to consider this construction as personal, the contents of the sentence that follows constituting the subject. Cp. an analogous case containing the verb *standan*, below.

OE. (hit) stent, 'it occurs, exists (stands written)'.

OE. *standan*, str. verb, 'to stand', etc., is, like its etymologically and semantically corresponding equivalents: OFris. *stonda*, OS. *standan* (*stân, stên*), OHG. *stantan*, (*stân, stên*), ON. *standa*, and Goth. *standan*, the descendant of the Prim. Teut. str. verb **standan*, 'to stand', from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **sta-*, (with infix of dental and nasal consonants; cp. the short forms, OHG. *stân*, etc.), of the same import. IE. verbal root **st(h)ā-*, whence also Sanskr. *tiṣṭhati*, OBactr. *hištaiti*, 'stands', Greek *ἵστημι*, 'I place', Lat. *sto*, 'I stand', *sisto*, 'I place', OBulg. *stojati*, 'to stand', OIrish *táu, tó*, 'I am', and others. The OE. verb sur-

[1]) In 'Minnesskrift af forna lärjungar tillägnad Professor Axel Erdmann på hans sjuttioårsdag den 6 febr. 1913', Uppsala & Stockholm 1913.

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vived into ME. and NE. ME. and NE. forms: *standen*, etc., and *stand*, respectively.

Examples found: Heora nænig ðas gefe gewonige ær hit swa agæn se swa hit on ðissum gewrite stondeþ. Cart. Sax. II 199 (A. D. 889). — Eft stynt on þære bec on þam forman ferse: Et spiritus - - -. Ælfr. Preface 23:16. — Hi ge wurdon sehte, swa hit her beforan stent. Chron. 182 C (A. D. 1052). Similar examples occur: Lieb. 138, I Ew. Inscr. Prol. (A. D. 901—924); ibid. 194, I Eadgar Hundragemot 6:1 (c. 950); Saints I 280:256; Ælfr. Hom. Judith 115:440; Ælfr. Past. Epistle 380; Lieb. 350, II Cn. 62 (c. 1030); ibid. 352, II Cn. 65 (c. 1030).

The impersonal character of the verb *standan* in some of these phrases is not incontestable. A case in point is e. g. the construction met with in the quotation from Ælfric's Preface 23:16: 'Eft stynt on þære bec - - -: Et spiritus - - -'. Cp. a similar passage containing the phrase *fyligð*, mentioned above. Further, it may be possible to consider the pronoun *hit* occurring in the other examples quoted to have a definite import. The same remarks apply to the constructions met with in those passages with regard to which I have restricted myself to indicating where they are to be found.

Note the close semantic affinity which obtains between expressions such as *hit is on - - - gewrite*, (*hit*) *stent on - - - bēc*, and such as (*hit*) *cwið on - - - bōcum*, *cȳð on - - - gewrite*, etc., included in Group 7.

Group 7: Expressions implying a statement, an explanation; an exhortation, an admonition; a permission.

To this group belong the following verbs: *cweþan*, *cȳþan*, *onginnan*, *secgan*, (*ge*)*sweotolian*; *manian*; *myn*(*e*)*gian*; (*ă*)*lieſan*. Of these verbs, only *cweþan*, *secgan* and (*ge*)*sweotolian* are frequently recorded as Impersonalia. None of them are exclusively impersonal. The impersonal phrases concerned, *hit cwið*, etc., are stereotyped, traditional formulæ.[1])

OE. (hit) cwið, 'it says'.

OE. *cweþan*, str. verb, 'to say, speak', is, like its etymologically and semasiologically corresponding equivalents in the

[1]) See Pogatscher, o. c., p. 294 sqq.

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cognate Teut. languages, OFris. *quetha*, OS. *quethan, quedan*, OHG. *quedan*, ON. *kveða* and Goth. *qiþan*, the descendant of the Prim. Teut. str. verb **kweþan*, 'to say, speak', a derivative of the Prim. Teut. verbal base **kwđeþ-*, of the same import. The OE. verb survived into ME. Latest instance of ME. *cweđen, quethe*, given by NED is dated 1546. The past tense *quoth* (OE. *cwæð*) is still in use.

Examples found: Ofer middangeaid mona lixeð, gæstlic tungol, swa seo godes circe þurh gesomninga soðes & ryhtes beorhte bliceð, swa hit on bocum cwiþ, siþþan of grundum godbearn astag. Crist II 701. — Þær þa eadigan fundon mid ealra gemedum ðas domas and Cantwara rihtum þeawum æctan, swa hit hyr efter segeþ and cwyþ. Lieb. 12, Wihtræd Inscriptio, Prol. 3 (A. D. 695). — Gif he on þam ordale ful wurðe, do mon þæt ilce, swa hit ær beforan cwæð. ibid. 158, II As. 14:1 (c. 930). Cp. Quadrip.: Si in ordalio reus fuerit, fiat ei quod supra dictum est. — And mona, hit cwæð, adeorcað - - -; and steorran, hit cwæð, hreosað ufene of heofonum. Wulfstan 93:5 sq. — Eft hit cwyð on oðre stowe: - - -. Poenit. Ecgberti, Thorpe II 214. Cp. the Latin version: Iterum dicitur in alio loco: - - - .

Similar examples occur: Lieb. 188, II Eadmund 2 (c. 945); Cart. Sax. III 75 (A. D. 955); Codex Dipl. III 315 (c. 1000); Poenit. Ecgberti, Thorpe II 228; ibid. 230; Eccles. Inst., Thorpe II 410; ibid. 434; Alc. De Virtutibus 379:3.

In sentences such as: 'And mona, hit cwæð, adeorcað', '(hit) cwyð on oðre stowe: - - -' (quoted above), it is doubtless permissible, and perhaps even preferable, to consider the contents of the statement to constitute the direct object (or, possibly, the subject, on the supposition that *hit cwiđ* is apprehended as a passive phrase; v. section B, p. 141) of the verb in question.

As to existing instances of *cweþan* in combination with a dependent clause, see section B, p. 140.

There are examples on record, also, of personal constructions such as the following: 'Swa hit geara be þon Cristes bocum gewitgod wæs, & us cweþaþ: - - -.' Blickl. Hom. 93.

OE. cȳð, 'a statement is made'.

OE. *cȳþan*, wk verb, 'to make known in words, announce', had the following etymological and semasiological equivalents: OS. *kûđian*, OHG. *kundan, chundan*, and ON. *kynna* (also = 'get to know'). These verbs are the representatives in the individual languages of the Prim. Teut. denominative verb **kunþian*, 'to

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make known', from the Prim. Teut. adjective **kunþa-*, 'known' (OE. *cûð*, 'known'). The OE. verb survived into ME. ME. form *cuðen*, etc. The verb is still in use in Scottish and in Northern dialects, where it has the form *kithe, kythe*.

Examples found: Her cyð on ðysum gewrite ða forewearde ðe Ælfwine - - - and se hyred - - - worhton wið Osgoð. Codex Dipl. IV 76 (c. 1040). — Her onginneð kyþan ymbe þises middangeardes ylda. Angels. Minora, Anglia XI, p. 105.

As to existing instances of the verb *cȳþan*, without any (pro-) nominal subject, in combination with dependent clauses, see section B, p. 141.

OE. onginð, 'a beginning takes place (a statement begins)'.

OE. *onginnan*, str. verb, 'to begin', is, like its etymologically and semasiologically corresponding counterparts in other Teut. dialects: OS. *beginnan*, OHG. *biginnan, in-*, and Goth. *duginnan*, the descendant of the Prim. Teut. verb **yennan*, 'to begin', from the verbal base **yenn-*, of the same import. The ultimate derivation of the verb is uncertain. The OE. verb survived into ME. According to NED, ME. *ongin* fell into disuse early in the 13th century, but was retained till the 14th century in the form *agin* (*gin, gan*).

Examples found: Her ongynð be cristendome. Wulfstan 65:14 (heading). — Her onginð, men ða leofestan, ymb ures drihtnes ærendgewrite be ðære halgan þrynnesse. ibid. 226:12. — Her onginð embe twelf derwyrða stanas & gimmas þe we leornudan in pocalipsis þære bec. Lapidar 229. — Her onginð embe þises middaneardes yldo. Altengl. Kleinigkeiten, ed. Napier, Anglia XI, p. 6.

Cp. phrases of the type: *onginð cȳþan, onginð secgan* (v. *cȳð* and [*hit*] *sægð*, respectively).

OE. (hit) sægð (sagað), 'it says'.

OE. *secgan*, wk verb, 'to say', etc., had the following equivalents, corresponding as to etymology and import, in the cognate Teut. languages: OFris. *sega*, OS. *seggian*, OHG. *sagên*, and ON. *segja*. These verbs, OE. *secgan* included, derive from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **say-*, 'to say'. The ultimate derivation of this root is uncertain. The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE. where we find the forms *seggen*, etc., and *say*, respectively.

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Examples found: Þær þa eadigan fundon mid ealra gemedum ðas domas & Cantwara rihtum þeawum æctan, swa hit hyr efter segeþ and cwyþ. Lieb. 12, Wihtræd Inscriptio, Prol. 3 (A. D. 695). — Hi swylc geblot ond swylc morð donde wæron, swylc her ær beforan sæde. Orosius 40:27. — Of þæm ilcan folcum forwurdon lytle ær, swa hit her beforan sægð, nigantiene hund M monna. ibid. 128:24. — Her sagað ymb ðas mæran ge-wyrd, þe to þyssum dæge gewearð, þæt-te ælmihtig Dryhten sylfa þas world gesohte. Verc. Hom. 96:1. — Her segð ymb drihtnes gebyrd ymb þa XII niht his tide. Prognostics, Cockayne III 164. — Sægeð on ðysum bocum be ðære arwurðnysse þyses halgan dæges and be ðære - - - mildheortnysse ures drihtnes hælendes Cristes, hu - - -. Homily John XIII, Grein 3, 151:1. — Her onginneð secgan be þam godes sanctum, þe on Engla lande ærost reston. Die Heiligen Englands, Lieb. II:1. — Her onginnæð to sægæn be þam treowe, þe ðeo rode wæs of iwroht. History of the Holy Rood-tree, EETS 103, p. 2.

Similar examples occur: Cart. Sax. III 373 (c. 980); Læceboc, Cockayne II 172; Saints II 98:481; ibid. 304:1377; Hexam. 6; Ælfr. Hom. Judith 114:396; Wulfstan 213:14; *περὶ διδ.*, Cockayne III 112 (two instances); Ymbe mannes gecynde, Cockayne III 146; Chron. 193, D (A. D. 1065); Harrow. Hell 610:1.

It is a matter of opinion whether in sentences such as: 'Her sagað ymb ðas mæran ge-wyrd, þe to þyssum dæge gewearð, þæt-te - - -' (from the Vercelli Homilies, 96:1; quoted above), the dependent *þæt*-clause should be considered as the direct object (or the subject) of *sagað*, or as an explanatory supplement. On the former supposition, sentences of this aspect appertain to the phrases consisting of a tense of *secgan*, without any (pro-) nominal subject, in conjunction with subordinate clauses. See section B, p. 141.

There are numerous instances extant of personal constructions such as the following: 'Nu segð us seo boc be Noes ofspringe'. Ælfr. De Veteri et Novo Test. 4:6.

OE. (hit) (ge)sweotolaþ, 'a statement, an explanation, is made.'

OE. *(ge)sweotolian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to state, explain', stands isolated. It was formed on the adjective, Prim. Teut. **swetula-*, **switula-*, 'clear', OE. *sweotol*, 'clear', etc., from the IE. root **sṷid-*, whence also Lat. *sudus*, 'dry, clear'. The OE. verb survived into ME., but died out during that period. ME. form *(i)sutelien*, etc.

Examples found: Her swytelað on þissum ge write þa forewearð þe Stigand bisceop & se hired on ealdan mynstre worhtan. Cart. Sax. I 543 (A. D. 825). — Her swutelað on þisum gewrite be þam halgum reliquium þe Æþelstan - - -

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geaf in to sancta Marian - - - Gode to lofe. ibid. II 389:1 (A. D. 932). — Her swutelað on ymb þa foreward þe wæron ge worhte be twux - - -. ibid. III 653 (no date). Similar passages occur: ibid. 208 (no date); Codex Dipl. IV 10 (c. 1020); ibid. 25 (A. D. 1023); ibid. 86 (A. D. 1044).

With reference to existing complex sentences of the type: *sweotolað þæt - - -, sweotolað hū - - -*, see section B, p. 141.

OE. manað, 'an exhortation is given'.

OE. *manian*, wk verb, 'to exhort, remind', etc., had the following equivalents in the cognate Teut. languages: OFris. *monia*, OS. *manôn*, and OHG. *manên, -ôn*, all = 'to exhort'. These verbs, OE. *manian* included, are derived from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **men-*, 'to remember, think of', from the IE. verbal root **men-*, 'to think', whence also e. g. Sanskr. *mányatē*, 'thinks', Greek *μνάομαι*, and Lat. *memini*, 'I call to mind'. The OE. verb survived into ME., where there occurs the form *manien*, etc.

Example found: Men þa leofestan, her us manaþ & mynegað on þissum bocum & on þissum halgum gewrite, be þisse halgan tide weorþunga. Blickl. Hom. 161.

OE. mynegaþ, 'an admonition is given'.

OE. *myn(e)gian*, a denominative wk verb, 'to remind', etc., as well as its one etymologically corresponding counterpart on record, OHG. *bimunigôn*, 'to remind in a solemn manner, to exhort', is derived from the Prim. Teut. noun **muni-*, 'thought, mind, desire', from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **men-* (v. the verb *manian*, above).

The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE., where we find the forms *munegen*, etc., and *ming*, respectively. NE. *ming* is obsolete. The latest instance adduced by NED, is, however, dated as late as 1787.

Example found: Men þa leofestan, her us manaþ & mynegað on þissum bocum & on þissum halgum gewrite, be þisse halgan tide weorþunga. Blickl. Hom 161.

OE. (ă)liefð, 'a permission is granted'.

OE. *(ă)līefan*, wk verb, 'to allow', etc., like OE. *(ge)līefan*, 'to believe', etc., OS. *gilôbian*, 'to believe', OHG. *gilouben*, 'to

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believe', *irlouben*, 'to allow', ON. *leyfa*, 'to praise, to allow', and Goth. *galaubjan*, 'to believe', *uslaubjan*, 'to allow', is the descendant of the Prim. Teut. denominative verb **laubjan*, 'to allow, to believe, to praise', a derivative of the Prim. Teut. noun **lauba-*, 'permission', from the IE. verbal root **leubh-*, **lubh-*, 'to desire, like', whence also Sanskr. *lúbhyati*, 'desires', Lat. *lubet*, 'pleases', etc., and OBulg. *ljubiti*, 'to love'. The OE. verb survived into ME. Latest example given by NED of ME. *leve(n)* is dated 1513.

The phrase *(ă)liefð* does not occur except in combination with an infinitive construction. For examples and discussion of same, see section B, p. 124.

Group 8: The 'mæg cunnian' group.

The OE. impersonal verbs of material import and in the active voice hitherto passed in review have been arranged approximately according to their significations. On the other hand, with regard to the very few verbs of this description that still remain to be considered, it has seemed the more rational plan to desist from the semantic ground of classification and to adopt another. Thus in the present group have been brought together some few impersonal expressions that do not readily find their places in the semasiological categories 1—7, nor form a semantic unity in themselves. What makes these expressions stand out as members of a class apart, is the circumstance that the verbs in question are not recorded as impersonal, except, as in the phrases that concern us here, in combination with *a modal auxiliary*, as in sentences of the type: *mæg cunnian, sceal dǣlan.*

The verbs included here are only four in number, viz. *cunnian, dǣlan, geþēran* and *sēon*, and, as pointed out above, they have nothing in common as regards their import. The examples are very scarce, each of the verbs being recorded once, only, in phrases of the structure mentioned.

OE. mæg cunnian, 'a test, a realization, may take place'.

OE. *cunnian*, wk verb, 'to explore, test, experience', etc., stands isolated. It is the descendant of the WGerm. verb **kunnō-*

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jan, formed on the Prim. Teut. preterite-present **kann*, **kunnum*, **kunnan*, 'to understand, to be able', whence also OE. *cunnan*, OS. *kunnan*, OHG. *kunnan*, *chunnan*, ON. *kunna*, and Goth. *kunnan*, all of cognate imports. The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE. ME. and NE. forms *cunnen*, etc., and *con*, respectively.

The phrase *mæg cunnian* does not occur except in conjunction with a subordinate clause. The one example found is quoted and discussed in section B, p. 141.

OE. sceal dælan, 'a cutting up shall take place'.

OE. *dælan*, a denominative wk verb, 'to divide', etc., is, like its etymological and semasiological equivalents in other Teut. dialects: OFris. *dêla*, OS. *dêlian*. OHG. *teilen*, ON. *deila*, and Goth. *dailjan*, the descendant of the Prim. Teut. verb **đailjan*, 'to divide', a derivative of the Prim. Teut. noun (**đaila-*), **đaili-*, 'a part' (OE. *dæl*, 'part'), from the IE. root **dhăi-*, whence also ultimately the OBulg. denominative verb *dĕliti*, 'to divide'. The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE. ME. and NE. forms *dælen*, etc., and *deal*, respectively.

Example found: Is þe guð weotod, heardum heoruswengum scel þin hra dælan. Andreas 952.

OE. mæg gefēran, 'a possibility of accomplishing a distance is at hand'.

The etymology of OE. *fēran*,' to go, march, travel', etc., is given on p. 72 above. OE. *gefēran* meant 'to cover (way), accomplish (journey)', etc. The OE. verb survived into ME., only, where we find the form *iferen*, etc.

Example found: Đa ondsworadon hie mec and sægdon, þæt nære mara weg þonne meahte on tyn dagum geferan. Epist. Alex. 160.

OE. mæg sēon, 'a possibility of seeing exists'.

OE. *sēon*, str. verb, 'to see', had the following etymologically and semantically corresponding counterparts in the cognate languages: OFris, *sîa*, OS. *sehan*, OHG. *sehan*, ON. *séa*, *sjá*, and Goth. *saihwan*. These verbs, OE. *sēon* included, are the descendants of the Prim. Teut. verb **sehwan*, 'to see', a derivative of the Prim.

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Teut. verbal base **sehw-*, of the same import. The ultimate etymology of this Teut. base is uncertain. The OE. verb survived into ME. and NE. ME. and NE. forms *seon*, *sen*, etc., and *see*.

Example found: Þær mæg nihta gehwæm niðwundor seon, fyr on flode. Beow. 1365.

Concerning the phrases of the *mæg cunnian* -group, it is hardly necessary to assume with Pogatscher, o. c., p. 294 sqq., that a subject, whether definite or indefinite (OE. *man*), is omitted. The phrases as they stand may be quite as original, it seems, as e. g. *hit rinþ*, *hine hyngreð*. The notion of a subject is kept entirely in the background. Cp. ch. II, p. 215.

Before passing over to Section B, Complex sentences, it now remains to say a few words about some other OE. phrases that are, apparently at least, void of any subject, and which therefore have the aspect of impersonal constructions. They all of them occur either as *legal expressions* in the Anglo-Saxon laws, or else as *directions* in medical prescriptions. In both cases they bear the impress of being stereotyped, traditional formulæ. As examples: 'Gif eaxle gelæmed weorþeð, XXX scill' gebete'. Lieb. 5, Æthelberht 38 (A. D. 601—604). — 'Cyninges fedesl XX scillinga forgelde', 'ein Königskostgänger ist mit 20 Schillingen zu entgelten', ibid. 4, Æthelberht 12 (A. D. 601—604). — 'Gelicge upweard - - - hæbbe him ær on muðe buteran - - - asitte þonne uplang, - - -'. Lacnunga, Cockayne III 2.

Note that Delbrück[1]) points out the occurrence of similar subjectless phrases in the numerous prescripts of the ancient Hindoo ritual, as well as in Greek and Roman legal documents.

It seems undeniable, however, that the subject of phrases such as these, although left unexpressed, is far more palpable and tangible than in the case of that other category of stereotyped expressions discussed above, p. 100. sqq. (*hit cwið*, etc.), or of the *mæg cunnian*-group, and that, consequently, they need not be apprehended as impersonal. Accordingly, they are not further considered in this treatise. Cp., however, Pogatscher, o. c., p. 300.

[1]) *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Grundriss III, p. 127 sq.

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SECTION B. COMPLEX SENTENCES.

Preliminary remarks.

In this section are considered OE. sentences consisting of *a finite verb*, without any (pro)nominal subject, in combination with *an infinitive construction* or *a dependent clause*. In OE., as in other languages, there occur a vast amount of sentences of this description. The question now arises whether they should be considered as constituting *impersonal* or *personal* constructions. This problem is naturally contingent on the quality of the *function* to be ascribed to the infinitives or the dependent clauses concerned. The present section of my treatise therefore necessarily takes the form of an investigation into the *syntactical function* of the infinitives and dependent clauses, respectively.

In a large number of cases, the infinitives and the subordinate clauses no doubt are, or may be considered as, quite on a par with (pro)nominal subjects, as regards their syntactical capacity; in other words, we have to do with personal constructions (v. e. g. Brugmann, *Ursprung*, p. 15 sqq; Paul, o. c., § 211), which, however, often admit of also an impersonal interpretation, i. e. the infinitive, or the dependent clause, is not apprehended as subject. In OE., as in other languages, there are extant, also, a not inconsiderable number of complex sentences of similar aspect, that are of a different nature, inasmuch as the syntactical function of the infinitives or the subordinate clauses is not that of a subject.

The two types of complex sentences, in OE. represented by e. g.: *hit fremeð him swā gedōn, hit nēalæceð þæt hē sceal fēran*, are called by Brugmann 'gebundene Impersonalien', in contradistinction to so-called 'freie Impersonalien', i. e. expressions of the type: *hit rīnð*. The former class are sometimes also called 'quasi-impersonal' constructions. So e. g. by van der Gaaf, o. c. These two authors do not, it seems, clearly reveal, or have no reason to touch upon, the functional discrepancy doubtless obtaining between different constructions of a similar aspect. For the purpose of illustrating this functional difference, we may compare the OE.

[1]) The term *complex sentences* is for practical reasons here used with a special import, neither identical with Sweets term 'complex sentences, nor' with his 'extended sentences', having elements from both. (Cp. Sweet, *A New Engl. Grammar I* 167.)

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typical expressions just quoted, in which the subject function of the infinitive or the dependent clause seems unquestionable, with e. g. OE. sentences of the types: *hine* (*him*) *lyst faran*, *hine* (*him*) *lyst* + *a þæt-clause*, and *cwiþ on bōcum þæt* - - -, where the infinitive or the dependent clause, judging from the construction or the import of the principal verb, cannot, at least not from the outset, be the subject. Cp. Miklosisch, o. c., p. 30 sq.

In order to distinctly accentuate this discrepancy, the term *quasi-Impersonale*, *quasi-impersonal construction*, etc., is used in this treatise to denote those complex sentences only, in which the infinitive, or the subordinate clause, has the function of a subject. All other complex sentences in which the principal verb is void of any (pro)nominal subject, as in the two examples mentioned, are here taken as constituting impersonal constructions. But it should be kept in mind that the latter often may also admit of a quasi-impersonal interpretation. On the other hand, sentences with a predominant quasi-impersonal aspect may sometimes tend towards an impersonal import.

The denomination *quasi-Impersonale* has been retained here, since, to use the words of Falk-Torp (*Dansk-Norskens Syntax*, p. 6), the sentences in question have the form of impersonal expressions.

How are we, then, in every instance to decide whether an infinitive construction or a subordinate clause is the subject of the complex sentence, or whether they serve in another capacity? This question is not always easy of solution.

Let us in the first place consider the *infinitive constructions*. One might expect that the form of the infinitive could give us some indications as to its function. This is, however, not the case. The infinitive constructions in OE., as is well known, take three different shapes: *the pure infinitive; the inflected infinitive*, preceded by the preposition *tō*, the so-called *dat. infin.* or *gerund*, corresponding to Lat. formations of the type: *ad eundum* and Lat. *gerundival forms;* and, lastly, the *uninflected infinitive*, preceded by *tō*. As regards the relative frequency in OE. of the three structural types, it is obvious that the second type, *the gerund*, is more common by far than the other two, and that the first is fairly well represented, whereas the third is only met with, comparatively

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speaking, in a very limited number of instances. For a detailed account of the infinitive formations used in OE., see Callaway, *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon.*

Originally, *the pure infinitive* and *the gerund* no doubt had each its special syntactical province. Broadly speaking, the former was the subject or the object of the complex sentence, while the latter implied the idea of a *direction* or a *purpose*, as still in OE. phrases such as: *hie cōmon þæt land tō scēawienne.* See e. g. Brugmann, *Kurze Vergl. Gramm.*, § 805 sqq; NED, s. v. *tō*; Falk-Torp, o. c., p. 193 sqq.

It is evident, however, that in OE. (and in other Teutonic languages as well) the original functional discrepancy had become gradually more vague, so much so that the gerund came to be used also in the capacity proper to the pure infinitive, which was to a considerable extent supplanted by the former. Whether on the other hand, the pure infinitive was used in OE. with the function from the outset peculiar to the gerund, seems more questionable. Note that, as regards verbs of *motion*, a gerundial function appears to be conspicuous in phrases such as Goth.: *qēmun saihwan* (cp. OE. *cōmon tō scēawienne*), OE. *cōm grētan*, and Mod. German *er ging schlafen.* The existence of constructions of this aspect seems to indicate the actual occurrence of a common Teut. pure infinitive implying *purpose.*

The last type mentioned, *the uninflected infinitive*, preceded by *tō*, is, like *the gerund*, not restricted to any special function. For examples, see Callaway, o. c.

As examples of the identical syntactical function being possibly involved in the different infinitive formations, the following OE. sentences may be adduced:

Wiþ fefre eft hylpð syndrige marubie to drincanne. Læceboc, Cockayne II 134. — Hit ne fremede him swa gedon. Aelfr. Hom. I 394.

Evidently there is no functional dissimilarity accentuated by the different forms of the infinitive constructions displayed in these examples, which might easily be multiplied. In both quotations, the infinitive unmistakably has the function of a subject. Cp. p. 120 below.

Since, then, the morphology of the infinitives is no reliable criterion as to their function, we must have recourse to another

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means, in order to establish which sentences should be considered as impersonal, and which as quasi-impersonal. The most rational method of deciding this question would seem to be to make the construction and the import of the respective finite verbs the starting-point from which to draw our conclusions.[1]) Conformably to this principle, we are no doubt justified in saying, in point of OE., that when a finite verb which is elsewhere met with in personal constructions, having a nomin. rei for its subject, has impersonal form and is combined with an infinitive, this infinitive has the function of a grammatical subject, either unconditionally or alternatively, and that, consequently, the sentence is, or may be apprehended as, a quasi-impersonal construction. In the same manner, if a finite verb sometimes takes a (pro)nominal accus. rei for its direct object, then an infinitive occurring in conjunction with this verb should be considered as a direct object, and the whole sentence is impersonal. Lastly, whenever there are instances of any given finite verb in combination with a (pro)noun preceded by the preposition *tō* (as e. g. in the phrase *mē onhagaþ tō ðām þinge;* v. section A, p. 39), then we may assume the corresponding infinitive constructions (as e. g. in the sentence *mē onhagaþ tō cumenne*) to retain an original gerund function.

This, then, is the basis of reasoning we shall follow in endeavouring to decide the syntactical function of the infinitive constructions (and the dependent clauses; v. below). It must, however, be admitted that it is not applicable in cases where the finite verb is not constructed in either of the ways mentioned (as not infrequently happens), if, e. g. they take a genit. rei. What principle should we then adopt in order to decide upon the syntactical nature of the infinitive? No doubt, we need not hesitate in this case, either, to make the construction in simple sentences the starting-point of the syntactical interpretation of the infinitive. A case in point is e. g. the verb *(ge)lystan*, which verb, in phrases where the thing coveted is expressed by means of a (pro)noun, takes that member of the sentence in the genitive.

[1]) Note that Kjellman, *La construction de l'infinitif dépendant d'une locution impersonelle en français*, p. 39, adopts the same basis for determining the syntactical nature of the infinitive, but that, as it appears, he does not in the sequel adhere to the principle advanced by him.

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The other category of complex sentences, consisting of a finite verb void of any subject in the shape of a (pro)noun, but in conjunction with a dependent clause, i. e. constructions of the aspect *nēalǣceð þæt - - -, him twēonað hwæþer - - -, (hit) cwið þæt - - -*, now calls for our attention. What is the function to be assigned to the dependent clauses? Or in other words, do complex sentences of this type represent quasi-impersonal or impersonal constructions? In deciding upon this question, we should here, too, take the construction of the verb in simple sentences as the starting-point of the syntactical interpretation. As in the case of the infinitives, we may consider as subjects or as objects, respectively, such clauses as are dependent on finite verbs that elsewhere occur with a nomin. rei for their subject, or with an accus. rei for their direct object. Consequently, in the former case, sentences containing subordinate clauses may be apprehended as quasi-impersonal constructions, whereas in the latter, they are looked upon as impersonal. Here also we are confronted with the particular difficulty which arises when the verb of the principal clause has neither construction. A case in point is once more *(ge)lystan*. But here also the construction in simple sentences should be the basis of the syntactical interpretation.

After these general remarks, let us now pass the relevant complex sentences in review. The examples found are given and discussed according as they occur in the respective groups, 1—8 (v. section A). As to complex sentences that, on the strength of the principle adopted (see above), may be considered as undoubtedly quasi-impersonal constructions, only their existence is indicated, as a rule. In the case of sentences that are clearly not quasi-impersonal, or with regard to which it seems impossible or difficult to decide whether they are quasi-impersonal or impersonal, all examples found are given. The two morphologically distinct classes of complex sentences (i. e. those containing *an infinitive*, and those consisting of *a principal clause* + *a dependent clause*) are kept apart. In all those instances of complex sentences which we may surmise to be impersonal formations, the verbs of the principal clause are, with but two exceptions, also met with as Impersonalia in simple sentences. Consequently, the etymology of these

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verbs is to be found in section A. The two exceptions hinted at are the verbs *ālīefan* and *cunnian*, in combination with an infinitive or a subordinate clause, respectively. For consistency's sake, the etymology of these verbs has been given there, too, each in its proper place.

CLASS A: SENTENCES CONSISTING OF A VERB WITHOUT ANY (PRO)NOMINAL SUBJECT, IN COMBINATION WITH AN INFINITIVE CONSTRUCTION.

Groups 1—3.

In the first three groups there are no instances extant of finite verbs + an infinitive.

Group 4.

In the groups comprising expressions for *affections*, we find the verbs *onhagian*, *(ge)līcian*, *gelustfullian*, *(ge)lystan*, *scamian* and *ā þrēotan* in combination with infinitives. With neither of these verbs is the infinitive construction of frequent occurrence, except in the case of *(ge)lystan*.

The phrase *hine (him) onhagað*, 'he feels inclined'[1]), occurs in a very limited number of instances in conjunction with an infinitive.

Examples found: Me ne onhagað nu þa boc ealle to asmæaganne. Aug. Soliloquies 65:10. — Oft eac ða manðwæran weorðað swæ besolcne &- - - swa slawe - - - ðæt hie ne anhagað nane wuht nytwyrðes don. Past. Care 288:16. — Þa ne onhagode him to cumenne to wiðermale. Chron. 175, D (A. D. 1052).

What is the syntactical function of these infinitive constructions? Whenever the object of the affection is represented by a (pro)noun, *onhagian* appears to be constructed thus: *(hine) onhagað tō + dat. rei.* For examples, see section A, p. 45. Consequently, it is no doubt admissible to suppose that in the examples of the type: *(hine) onhagað + gerund forms*, the latter retain an original

[1]) See section A, p. 45, where it is pointed out that *onhagian* has sometimes the sense 'to have an opportunity, to be able', etc., the construction in both cases being the same, and that it is very often hard to say which of these imports is involved. See also the present section, pp. 121 and 138, where there are adduced instances of *onhagian* with, presumably, the latter signification.

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gerundial function, i. e. that we are here confronted with impersonal sentences. The syntactical capacity of the pure infinitive occurring in the quotation from the Cura Pastoralis is doubtful. As regards a possible gerund function in the pure infinitive, v. p. 110 above.

However, in spite of the existence of the construction *(hine) onhagað tō + dat. rei*, it is perhaps permissible to assume that even the gerund forms recorded may at least tend to assume the function of a subject. The one instance found of a pure infinitive, and possibly the word-order of the passage quoted from the Soliloquies of St. Augustine, speak in favour of such an assumption. Cp. the examples of *onhagian* with the import 'to have an opportunity', etc., given below, p. 121. If that is so, we have to annotate a change from an original impersonal construction into a quasi-impersonal one, due no doubt to the analogy of semantically cognate verbs, such as *(ge)līcian*, which occur either with a nomin. rei or an infinitive for their subject. We have then also to annotate a change in the import of the finite verb, which we must assume to go hand in hand with the structural alteration. While thus the import of the impersonal phrase *hine onhagað tō* - - -, is: 'an inclination going in the direction of - - - takes hold of him', the sense of phrases such as *hine onhagað dōn, tō dōnne*, in case the infinitives have the function of subjects, must be: 'to do (this) inspires him with pleasure.'

There seem to be no reasons to suppose the infinitives in question to discharge the function of direct objects, since there are no examples met with of *onhagian* + an accus. rei for its direct object. Moreover, if we do, it then follows, in some instances, that we have to assume two such objects (: accus. personæ and accus. rei, the latter in the shape of an infinitive). But are we really justified in so doing? In the absence of reliable instances in OE., one may be tempted to dismiss such an assumption. And yet the possibility remains that *onhagian* may have obtained its pure infinitive on the analogy of verbs such as *(ge)lystan*, which in simple sentences are constructed with a genitival object on the pattern of which the infinitive construction of this verb probably originated, implying at first a *relatio respiciendi* (see ch. II, p. 176), and, later on, a direct object. If so, the import of sentences of

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the type under discussion (containing *onhagian* as a finite verb) tended to imply 'inclination in respect of doing, or to do, a thing takes hold of a person' (i. e. an impersonal construction). Note that the identical observations hold good with infinitive constructions (and clauses) occurring in combination with some other impersonal verbs as well. See the individual verbs below.

The verb *onhagian* is met with, also, as principal verb in conjunction with dependent clauses. But here it has the import 'to be convenient', etc. See p. 138 below.

Since there are examples extant of the verb *(g e) l ī c i a n* with a nomin. rei for its subject (v. section A, p. 47), we may consider the infinitives occurring in combination with it to be subjects, too, in other words, we need not hesitate to assign to the sentences of which they are members, the quality of being quasi-impersonal formations. As examples:

Licade us efencuman. Bede 276:12. — Gif þe licige to sweltenne, - - - De Vitis Patrum 204:292.

Cp. *(ge)līcian* in combination with dependent clauses, p. 126, below.

It cannot be denied, however, that in such a sentence as the one last quoted, the gerundial form may be indicative of also a gerundial function, i. e. the construction may be, or may once have been, impersonal, although, as shown in section A, p. 46, there are no instances on record of the type: *him (ge)licað tō + dat. rei.* If the construction of the passage in question is really impersonal, then we must assume its import to be: 'If a liking going in the direction of dying exists for thee, - - -.' (Cp. Falk-Torp, o. c., § 123). These remarks are valid also in the case of *gelustfullian* and several other verbs as well, occurring in conjunction with gerundial forms, but with regard to which the construction *tō + dat. rei* does not seem to be on record.

There are some few instances met with, too, of the verb *g e - l u s t f u l l i a n* in combination with infinitive constructions. With regard to the syntactical capacity of these infinitives, the same remarks are valid as in the case of *(g e) l ī c i a n.* See above.

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Consequently, we are justified, without doubt, in considering also sentences such as the following as quasi-impersonal:

Us gelustfullað gyt furður to sprecenne be him. Ælfr. Hom. I,360:29. — Us gelustfullað þyssera rynela angin preostum ætywan. Byrhtferð 302:32.

An example of extant cases of this verb with a nomin. rei for its subject is given in section A, p. 48.

As in the case of *(ge)līcian* and other verbs, the gerundial form may possibly indicate also a gerundial function.

Very numerous are the instances of the verb *(ge)lystan* in combination with a pure infinitive. The gerundial forms, on the other hand, are but few in number, and do not seem to occur in poetical texts.

Examples found: Geat unigmetes wel, rofne randwigan, restan lyste. Beow. 1794. — Eala, ofermodan, hwi eow a lyste mid eowrum swiran selfra willum þæt swære gioc symle underlutan? Metra X 18. Similar examples occur ibid. XIX 11; 16; 33; 39; XXXI 1. — (Prosaic texts; pure infinitives) - - - to bisene eallum þam, þe lysteð feran on liues weg. Dial. Greg. 2:21. — Me lysteþ sceawian & smeagean, hulic - - -. ibid. 18:1. — - - - and swenceþ þæs (:his) sawle, þe hi gehieran lysteþ. ibid. 34:29. Similar examples occur: ibid. 60:2; 177:22; 182:16; 209:23; Aug. Soliloquies 1:6; ibid. 64:12; Past. Care 278:5; Bede 3:16; ibid. 398:7; Læceboc, Cockayne II 230:23; Blickl. Hom. 51:16; ibid. 101:20; Ælfr. Hom. II 220; Saints I 356:297; Ælfr. Grammar 211 (several instances); Byrhtferð 303; ibid. 308; 333; Eccles. Inst., Thorpe II 398; Epist. Alex. 162. — (Gerundial form) Fela me lyste witan ðes ðe ic nat. Ne lyst me þeah nanes þinges swiðor to witanne þonne þises. Aug. Soliloquies 14:22. — Ic gehwam wille þærto tæcan þe hiene his lyst ma to witanne. Orosius 102:25.

Since there are no unambiguous instances of either a nomin. rei, an accus. rei, or of *tō* + dat. rei, in conjunction with this verb (v. ch. I, p. 48 sq.), the question as to the function of these infinitive constructions is hard to decide. From the outset, at least, the pure infinitive was most probably apprehended on the analogy of a genit. rei, i. e. the semantic type was:'a longing (desire) in respect of resting (= a *relatio respiciendi*) took hold of the famous warrior' (Beow. 1794), a sense that easily turned into: 'a longing (desire) to rest (= direct object) took hold of - - -'. Again the gerundial form twice recorded, may have had a gerundial function (:'a longing going in the direction of - - -', etc.). Cp. the verb *(ge)līcian* + gerundial forms and ON. phrases of the two types: *mik fara tiðir, mik tiðir at fara*, 'I long to

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go'. (v. Falk-Torp, o. c. § 123.) To judge from the aspect of the passage quoted from the Soliloquies of Augustine (14:22), the two infinitive forms could be used promiscue.

The syntactical interpretation of the infinitive as a subject may be thought of as a possibility, and if so, this function is due to the analogy of semantically cognate verbs such as *gelustfullian*, which were constructed with a nomin. rei for their subject, or with an infinitive with presumably the identical function. Cp. the remarks made on *onhagian*, p. 114 above, and note the similar change in the import of *(ge)lystan* which we must assume to have come to pass, if a transition from the original impersonal construction has really taken place. But as such a semantic change has not, as it appears, been reflected in the construction of the verb in simple sentences, the syntactical interpretation under consideration should be acknowledged as a more or less strong tendency, only ,not as the predominant syntactical aspect.

Cp. *(ge)lystan* in combination with dependent clauses, p. 128 sqq., below.

Instances of the verb *scamian* as a finite verb in conjunction with an infinitive construction are but sparely recorded.

Examples found: Þu swylce for godas hæfst þe ðe sceamað to ge-euenlæcenne. Saints I 200:76. A similar instance, ibid. 202:125. — Us sceamað hit nu mare to tellane. Chron. 170 D (A. D. 1050).

It has been shown in section A, p. 54, that the cause of the affection in question is expressed by a genit. rei, or by a prepositional phrase (not, however, *tō* + dat. rei).

A gerundial function is doubtless inherent in the gerundial forms of the examples quoted, since they are probably due to influence from other verbs of related import that occur with the preposition *tō* + dat. rei. It is true, as shown above (p. 110) that the gerund and the pure infinitive may be equivalent in point of function, inasmuch as both may represent a subject or an object. But as in the present case there are no examples found with a pure infinitive, we had perhaps better look upon the gerundial forms as implying a gerundial function. Since, however, in simple sentences the verb is often constructed with a genit.

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rei, we must admit the possibility that these gerunds may also be apprehended as constituting a *relatio respiciendi*, which in this case is easily turned into a relation of cause, so that the gerunds may even tend to be conceived as subjects.

Cp. *scamian* in combination with subordinate clauses, p. 128 sqq., below.

The last of the *verba affectuum* that concern us in this connection is *ā þrēotan*. This verb appears to have been but rarely used in combination with infinitives. I have found one instance, only:

Eac me sceal aðreotan --- ymb ealra þara Troiana gewin to asecgenne. Orosius 42:12. Cp. the Latin version: Tædet etiam --- referre certamina.

As in the case of *scamian* discussed above, and on similar grounds, it is safer to assume that this sentence represents an impersonal, and hardly a quasi-impersonal, construction, i. e. the gerundial form has here, too, probably a gerundial function, and a *relatio respiciendi*, or a subject function, on the part of the infinitive is less salient. Note that a constructive type: *hine (ā) þrīet tō* + *dat. rei* is not on record, as far as I know. See section A, p. 55 sq., and cp. the remarks on *ā þrēotan* in conjunction with a subordinate clause, p. 128 sqq., below.

Group 5.

The fifth group, comprising expressions for manifestations of *mental activity*, includes two verbs, only, that are recorded in conjunction with infinitive constructions, viz. *(ge)þyncan* and *(ge)twēonian*.

The quasi-impersonal character of the numerous instances of sentences consisting of a tense of *(ge)þyncan* + an infinitive is unmistakable. As examples:

Hwæt eow þæs selest on sefan þinceð to gecyðanne? Elene 532. — Him sylfum selle þynceð leahtras to fremman ofer lof godes lices lustas. Juliana 407.

Note the numerous instances extant of personal constructions of the type: *þing þynceð gōd*. For examples, v. section A, p. 65.

Whether in such passages as the one from Elene just quoted, the thing spoken of, in that case represented by *hwæt*, is to be

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considered the subject, or whether the subject function is to be ascribed to the gerundial form (*:tō gecȳðanne*, etc.), is another question. An acceptation of the former alternative evidently implies the assumption of a gerundial function in the infinitive construction, while *hwæt*, etc., must be regarded as a direct object, if we adopt the latter. See Paul, o. c., § 205.

The possibility of alternatively apprehending the infinitive of the above examples as an object seems far less conspicuous than the identical possibility with reference to apprehending a dependent clause governed by *(ge)þyncan*, as an object (of contents or limitation). Cp. *(ge)þyncan* in conjunction with subordinate clauses, p. 132 below.

The constructive type: *h i n e* (*h i m*) (*g e*) *t w ē o n a ð*, etc., + an infinitive is very rarely met with. I have found one example, only, viz. the following:

Hwæt (:why) twynað þe, oððe hwæt ondrætst þu ðe þone hælend to onfonne? Evang. Nic. 500:14.

With reference to the function of this gerundial form, the same observations are valid as in the case of parallel formations containing the verb *(ge)lystan* (v. p. 116 sq.), since also in the case of *(ge)twēonian*, in simple sentences, the cause of the affection takes the shape of a genitive (or a prepositional phrase, though not *tō* + dat. rei). See section A, p. 68. The collocation of the two finite verbal expressions 'twynað' and 'ondrætst', which latter has a nomin. personæ for its subject, doubtless favours the belief that 'to onfonne' should be considered to have the function of a gerund. If this is so, it then follows that the import of the passage is: 'Why do doubts as regards receiving - - - take hold of (exist for) thee'? If we assume the infinitive to be the subject, the import is: 'Why does the receiving - - - inspire thee with doubts'? But this latter signification is secondary and perhaps less prominent, for reasons equivalent to those adduced in the case of *onhagian* and *(ge)lystan* (v. pp. 113 sq. and 116 sq.).

Cp. *(ge)twēonian* in combination with dependent clauses, p. 135 below.

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Group 6.

In group 6, subcategory a, which comprises expressions denoting different aspects of *the course of events*, there is but one verb met with, as it appears, without any (pro)nominal subject but in conjunction with an infintive, viz. *(ge)weorðan;* with regard to this verb, the syntactical capacity of the accompanying infinitive is doubtful. The subject function of the infinitives in sentences of the following type, containing principal verbs that belong to the present semantic group, subcategory a, is unmistakable, since the finite verbs occur elsewhere with a nomin. rei for their subject:

Hit ne fremede him swa gedon. Ælfr. Hom. I 394. — Wiþ fefre eft hylpð syndrige marubie to drincanne. Læceboc, Cockayne II 134.

Cp. (p. 136 below) complex sentences of the aspect: *him fremeð þæt* - - -.

As regards *(g e) w e o r ð a n*, this verb occurs in combination with an infinitive construction (a pure infinitive) once, only, as it appears, viz. in the following passage:

Ne þær wer-mægða ænig wiste hwæt oðer cwæð, ne meahte hie gewurðan weall stænenne up forð timbran. Metr. Paraphrase XXV, Thorpe 101:33.

Here the verb has a specialized signification, the phrase in question implying: 'they could not agree - - -.' See section A, p. 83, where it is shown that, when *(ge)weorðan* has the import mentioned, and the thing, etc., agreed upon, is represented by a (pro)noun, this (pro)noun is in the genitive case, or else preceded by a preposition. Thus the pure infinitive of the quotation just given stands, strictly speaking, for a genitive of a (pro)noun. It is probable that this infinitive was at first felt to discharge the function of a *genit. respiciendi*, and that it later on adopted that of a direct object. The interpretation of the infinitive as a subject, and the sentence as quasi-impersonal, should also be admitted as a possibility. But this secondary syntactical function was probably not very prominent. See the analogous case of *(ge)lystan*, p. 116 above.

Cp. *(ge)weorðan* in conjunction with subordinate clauses, p. 136 below.

The following verbs belonging to Group 6, subcategory b, which includes expressions for different aspects of *the state of*

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things, are found in combination with infinitives: *onhagian, behōfian, gebyrian, gedafenian, gerīsan* and *verbum substantivum*. Of these, *gebyrian* and *verbum substantivum* are pretty frequently recorded in sentences of this type.

As regards *onhagian* with, presumably, the sense 'to have an opportunity', etc. (v. p. 113, above), there are but few instances on record of this verb in combination with infinitive constructions (gerundial forms, only).

Examples found: Se ðe ægþer gescop - - -, forgife me þæt me to ægðrum onhagige, ge her nytwyrðe to beonne, ge huru þider to cumane. Aug. Soliloquies 2:16. — Forðæmðe ðæt ðætte hine ne onhagode utane forð to brenganne mid weorcum, innane he hit geðafode. Past. Care 417:17. — Nu ne onhagað us na swiðor be ðam to sprecenne. Ælfr. Hom. I 446. — Ic hæbbe nu gegaderod on þyssere bec þæra halgena þrowunga þe me to onhagode on englisc to awendene. Saints I 4:37.

Concerning the probable function of these gerundial forms, cp. the discussion on *onhagian* as a *verbum affectus*, p. 113 above. Thus in point of the present case, too, we are concerned with impersonal sentences, which, however, tended to acquire a quasi-impersonal import, i. e. there is also a tendency to apprehend the infinitive as subject.

Cp. *onhagian* in combination with subordinate clauses, p. 138 below.

Very rare, too, are the cases of the verb *behōfian* in complex sentences of the kind under discussion. I have annotated the following examples:

Ælces licuman æagan behofað þreora þinga on hym silfum to habbæne - - -. Aug. Soliloquies 27:11 (doubtful construction; see section A, p. 91). — (The Holy Ghost shall tell you the things) ðaðe behofað ⁊ gehriseð to cuoeðanne. Gosp. Luke, ch. XII, v. 12, Li. — - - - ðaðe bi-hofað to cweoðanne. ibid. Ru. Cp. the Lat. version: - - - quæ oporteat dicere.

It has been pointed out (section A, l. c.) that the usual construction of this verb is: *hē behōfað þisses þinges*, 'he needs this', and that there are no instances of a nomin. rei with the capacity of a subject. Besides this type of construction, there also occurs the following: *hē behōfað + a þæt-clause* (as direct object). Cp. sentences such as the following: 'Huru ðæs behofað hæleða æghwylc, þæt - - -.' Soul 1.

The function of the gerundial forms recorded is therefore

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uncertain. It is most probably originally gerundial, and if so, the import of the sentences is 'there is a necessity at hand, going in the direction of, etc.' Cp. the remarks made (on p. 115, above) on the verb *(ge)līcian* in combination with gerundial forms. An assumption of an objective function does not seem impossible, either, in view of the existence of the construction: *hē behōfað + a þæt- clause.*

Cp. *behōfian* in conjunction with *dependent clauses*, p. 139 below.

As mentioned above, the verb *gebyrian* is by no means rare in conjunction with infinitive constructions. Much more scarce are parallel instances of *gedafenian* and *gerīsan*, all three of them appertaining to the semantic category *moral fitness.*

Inasmuch as there are examples extant in the case of all these verbs, of the following constructive type: *thing* (as subject) *gebyreð*, etc., *him* (for examples, see section A, p. 95 sqq.), there is (with the exception of the gerundial form, v. below) hardly any doubt about the predominance of the subject function of the respective infinitive constructions. An organic transitive regimen with these verbs is of course inconceivable. Cp. extant complex sentences of the type: *him gebyreð*, etc., *þæt* - - - (p. 140, below).

As examples: Hwæt secgað ða boceras ðæt gebyrige ærest cuman Heliam? Gosp. Matth., ch. XVII, v. 10, Corp. Cp. the Lat. version: - - - dicunt quod Eliam oporteat primum venire?. — Hu ne gebyrede þe gemiltsian þinum efenþeowan? ibid. ch. XVIII, v. 33, Corp. — Nyste gyt þ me gebyrað to beonne on þam ðingum ðe mines fæder synt? ibid. Luke, ch. II, v. 49, Corp. Cp. the Lat. version: - - - oportet me esse? — Þe gedafenað þine þeode to læranne. Bede 2:13. — All þas þing þære neowan ðeode Ongolcynnes in Godes geleafan gedafenað cuð habban. ibid. 74:13. — Her ongynð seo endebyrdnyss, hu munecum gerist to healdenne þone regollican þeaw. Consuet. Monach. 294.

It has been hinted above that the subject function is perhaps not in every case incontestable. This doubt applies to constructions consisting of a form of the verbs *gebyrian, gedafenian,* and *gerīsan* as principal verbs + gerundial forms. Thus it is certainly admissible to consider the gerundial form occurring in the quotation from the Gospel of St. Luke, ch. II, v. 49: 'me gebyrað to beonne - - -', to have also the function of a gerund, which implies that the sentence is truly impersonal. Cp. extant phrases

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of the type: *him gebyraþ tō* + *dat. rei*, 'he stands in relation to - - -, has to do with - - -'. See section A, p. 97.

The last of the verbs belonging to subcategory b which concern us in this connection, is *the substantive verb*. There are numerous instances on record of this verb in combination with infinitive constructions.

As examples: (*α*. The infinitive has no direct object.) He to Rome ferde & þær his lif geendade, swa swa heræfter is swutolecor to secgenne. Bede 298:12. Cp. the Lat. version: - - -, ut in sequentibus latius dicendum est. — Swiðe ungelice of ðisse tiide me is to lifigenne. ibid. 424:4. Cp. the Lat. version: - - - uiuendum est. — On wintres timan, - - -, on þære eahteþan tide þære nihte is to arisenne. Reg. Ben. 32:12. — Nis þam bisceope ne þam sacerde þam men to forwyrnanne scriftes þe him þæs togyrnð. Poenit. Ecgberti, Thorpe II 176.

(*β*. The infinitive has a direct object.) Is nu forði munuchades mannum mid micelre gecnyrdnysse to forbugenne ðas yfelan gebysnunga, and geefenlæcan þam apostolum. Ælfr. Hom. I 400. — Us is to secenne, gif we geswencte beoð, þa bote æt gode - - -, and mid ealra heortan urne hælend gladian. Saints I 376:181. — To sittane on minre swiþran healfe oððe on wynstran nys me inc to syllanne. Gosp. Matth., ch. XX, v. 23, Corp. Cp. the Lat. version: sedere - - - non est meum dare uobis. — Micel (:much) is to hycganne wisfæstum menn, hwæt seo wiht sy. Riddle XXIX 13.

It should be noted that a modal element, viz. the notion of obligation, necessity, or the like, is undoubtedly inherent in these sentences. Semantically they are on a par with sentences containing predicate-verbs such as *gebyrian*, *gedafenian*, *gerīsan*, i. e. they may be interpreted as implying 'obligation (necessity, duty) going in the direction of acting so and so (= gerundial sense), or to act so and so (= object of contents or limitation, qualifying the modal notion) exists for a person'. If we contend that here the gerundial forms are subjects and that the *verbum substantivum* is a pure verb of *existence*, this interpretation implies that the modal notion of obligation, etc., is exclusively expressed by the gerundial form and not by this form in conjunction with verbum substantivum. If we assume that the notion in question is expressed by the gerundial form in conjunction with verbum substantivum, this fact prevents us from looking upon the gerund as being in its entirety a subject, and upon 'to be' as having exclusively the sense of an existential verb. In other words, the morphology of the sentences forbids a grammatical analysis

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as to which words are grammatically their principal constituents. Which of these views as to the expression of the modal notion should be adopted? It is not a matter of doubt, to my mind, that the modal notion, which is the semantic subject, is expressed by *both* the gerundial form and verbum substantivum.

In the first two examples under *β*, we are concerned with two co-ordinated infinitives, of which the first has the form of a gerund, but the second that of a pure infinitive. In this case, the latter form should undoubtedly be apprehended as having gerundial function, and the form itself may be due to the incipient functional confusion of the gerund and the pure infinitive, scarcely to influence from Latin constructions such as *dare est.*

In sentences like the one quoted from Riddle XXIX, p. 3: 'Micel is to hycganne wisfæstum menn, hwæt - - -', the proximate interpretation should be 'obligation in the direction of thinking much what (=direct object), etc., exists for wise men'. But it is evidently possible, also, to assume that the infinitive has a passive sense, which amounts to saying that e. g. in the example mentioned, the clause initiated by *hwæt* constitutes the subject. And similarly in other cases, *mutatis mutandis.* We may compare sentences such as the following:

Forþig nis na to onsceonienne seo soðe gecynnednys. Poenit. Ecgberti, Thorpe II 172. Cp. the Latin version: Non est rejicienda vera conversio, and OHG. examples such as: ze karawenne sint, 'præparanda sunt', ze kesezzanne ist, 'restituenda est' (quoted from Sundén, Essay II p. 103).

Cp. also the gerundial function of the infinitive construction in personal sentences such as:

Ða þa Agustinus þone *b.* stol fenge hæfde on þare burh, - - -, swa hit (:this) ys to rædon on Ystoria Anglorum. Chron. 128, F (A. D. 995), and LG.: dat steit to lovende, 'that is to be believed' (quoted from Falk-Torp, o. c., § 122).

Verbum substantivum also occurs in conjunction with subordinate clauses. See p. 136 below.

Group 7.

Among the verbs included in Group 7 there is one, only, to my knowledge, that occurs in conjunction with infinitive constructions, viz. *ā l ī e f a n.* There are but few cases of this type extant.

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Examples found: Alyfð reste-dagum wel to donne hweþer ðe yfele? Gosp. Mark, ch. III, v. 4, Corp. Cp. Li.: is alefed hræstdagum wel wyrce ł yfle?, and Ru.: gif is alefed on ræste-dagum wel wyrca ł yfle? The Lat. version has: licet - - - bene facere an male? — Pharisei - - - hine axodon hwæðer alyfð ænegum men his wif forlætan. ibid., ch. X, v. 2, Corp. Cp: Li. and Ru.: - - - is alyfed - - -. The Lat. version has: Si licet viro uxorem dimittere? — Alyfð gaful to syllanne ðam Casere? ibid., ch. XII, v. 14, Corp. Cp. Li.: - - - is gelefed to sealane geafel ðæm caseri? The Lat. version has: Licet dare tributum Cæsari?

It has been pointed out by Sundén (*Essay II*, p. 386 sqq.), that in sentences such as these, the import appears to oscillate. Speaking of constructions of the types: *sweotolaþ þæt - - -, ālȳfð dōn*, etc., he says (l. c.): 'Here the sense of the predicate-verbs appears as passival, if they are apprehended as being predicated of the subordinate clause or the infinitive construction. But the sense is apprehended as trans., if the constructions are considered as impersonal ones'. Note the Li. and Ru. renderings of the Gospel passages quoted.

The passive sense is doubtless a secondary development. Cp. *hit cwið*, etc., *þæt - - -*, p. 140 below. It is self-evident that, if the constructions in question are considered to be passive as to sense, the infinitives, whether pure or inflected, function as subjects, and that an active import implies that they are direct objects. No gerundial function is discernible in the extant gerundial forms, in view of the genesis of the constructive type in question, as established by Sundén, *Essay II*, p. 510. It may be permitted to quote his words: 'The latter (i. e. impersonal) use (of *ālīefan*) was proximately an imitation of the corresponding Latin use of *licet;* but it was supported by analogous native constructions such as: *Her swutelað on ðisum gewrite, þæt - - -*'. Note that Sundén, l. c., maintains sentences such as the following: 'Þa heofonlican geryno þa nanegum men ne alyfað to secganne' (Guþlac 86:6), to be passive in import. Consequently, he translates this passage thus: 'those heavenly secrets which are permitted to no man to say'. This passive sense in the active form is said to be due to the passive import that is undoubtedly more or less prominent in the impersonal phrase *(ā)līefð*.

However, another explanation would seem to be quite as possible here, viz. that 'alyfað' has an active sense, as well as form, and that it represents a manner of rendering the notion:

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'they, i. e. one, allows', or 'the rules allow'. My reason for this opinion lies in the fact that we find (in Bede) the following passages:

Æfter hu feola daga alefað him (:the new-born child) þæm geryne onfoon fulwihtes bæðes? (74:14). Cp. the Latin version: post quot dies hoc liceat - - - sacramenta percipere? — Gif wiif numen sy in monaðadle gewunan, hwæðer alefað hire in circan gongan? (74:17).

The construction met with in these two passages does not find its explanation in an assumption of a passive import, whereas, if we consider 'alyfað', 'alefað', as equivalent to 'one allows, the rules allow', all three instances are accounted for.

CLASS B: SENTENCES CONSISTING OF A PRINCIPAL VERB WITHOUT ANY (PRO)NOMINAL SUBJECT, IN COMBINATION WITH A DEPENDENT CLAUSE.

As to the functions attributable to dependent clauses, and the principle to be followed in deciding the question: personal or impersonal construction?, see above, p. 108 sqq.

Groups 1—3.

In Group 1 there is no representative extant of the present type of complex sentences. In Groups 2 and 3, we find the verb *nēalācan*, only, in expressions of the following aspect: *n ē a l ǣ - c e ð þ æ t - - -*, lit. 'it approaches (in a temporal or local sense) that - - -'. These are of unmistakably quasi-impersonal nature. Cp. the numerous instances of personal constructions such as: 'Geneolæhte freolsdæg'. Gosp. Luke, ch. XXII, v. 1, Corp.

Group 4.

If we turn to Group 4, we find a comparatively large number of verbs without any (pro)nominal subject, but combined with a dependent clause. As to the expressions *e g l e ð þ æ t - - -* (lit. 'it troubles that - - -'), *l ā þ a ð þ æ t - - -* ('it causes loathing that - - -'), *(g e) l ī c a ð þ æ t - - -*, ('it causes pleasure that - - -'), and *o f l ī c a ð þ æ t - - -* ('it causes displeasure that - - -'), these are quasi-impersonal formations, no doubt, in view of the fact that of the four verbs concerned, *eglian*, *lāþian* and *oflīcian*

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are always constructed, either as here, or else with a nomin. rei for their subject, and that, as mentioned already, *(ge)līcian* occurs not only as an impersonal verb, but also with a (pro)nominal subject. Examples of this latter usage abound. See dictionaries.

In the Gospel of St. Mark, ch. IV, v. 38, Corp., Li. and Ru., there occur the following sentences:

Ne to ðe byreð forðon þ we sie dead? Li. and Ru.; Ne belimpð to þe þ we forwurdad? Corp.

The verbs *(ge)byrian* and *belimpan* here clearly have the signification 'to cause solicitude', i. e. they belong to the *verba affectuum*. The quasi-impersonal nature of these constructions is obvious. Cp. the Lat. version: 'non ad te pertinet quia perimus?', and see p. 135 sqq. concerning these verbs as met with in quasi-impersonal sentences where they have the more original sense 'to happen', in which case they, in simple sentences, are always constructed with a nomin. rei for their subject. On the other hand, note the construction of *gebyrian* as an impersonal *verbum affectus* (v. section A, p. 57).

With regard to subordinate clauses occurring in combination with either of the verbs *langian*, *(ge)lystan*, *(ge)scamian*, *ā̆þrēotan*, *forscamian*, *(ge)hrēowan*, *ofhrēowan*, and *ofþyncan*, as principal verbs, all of them appertaining to *verba affectuum*, the functional question is not quite so easily solved.

As to *langian*, this verb occurs in combination with a dependent clause in the following passage:

Hæleð langode, wægliðende swilce wif heora, hwonne hie of nearwe - - - ofer streamstaðe stæppan mosten. Genesis A 1431.

It has been shown in section A (p. 52) that, whenever the cause of the affection implied in the principal verb is expressed by means of a (pro)noun, this is either a genitive, or else forms part of a prepositional phrase. The function of the dependent clause in question is therefore doubtful. The structure of the passage is doubtless due to ellipsis (of *þæs*). Cp. the following complex sentence, quoted already in section A (p. 52): 'Hine ðæs heardost langode, hwanne he of ðisse worlde moste' (Blickl. Hom. 227).

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But we may justly ask whether, after the ellipsis had taken place, the sub-clause did not, in course of time, tend to be apprehended as implying, not 'in respect of the time when, etc.', but only 'when, etc.', which means that the dependent clause has assumed the character of an object.

The verbs *(ge)lystan*, *(ge)scamian* and *ā þrēotan* also occur in conjunction with infinitive constructions, the syntactical capacity of which, mostly parallel, no doubt, with that of the subordinate clauses, has been discussed above, pp. 116, 117 and 118, respectively.

The first of these verbs, *(ge)lystan*, of such frequent occurrence in combination with infinitives, is very rarely recorded in sentences of the kind that concerns us here. I have annotated the following instances:

Me lysteþ nu, þæt ic nyste na eall. Dial. Greg. 267:14. A similar example ibid. 303:6. — Ac me lyste bet þ ðu me sæde sume hwile ymb þ, þonne þu me ascode. Boethius 87:20. — Ælcne man lyst, þæt he hine mote gerestan. Aug. Soliloquies 2:7.

Of *(ge)scamian*, a fairly large number of relevant examples have been found:

Ac me sceamað nu ðæt ic hit ær ne ongeat. Boethius 98:25. — Ða woroldlecan læcas scomaþ ðæt hi onginnen ða wunda lacnian ðe hi gesion ne magon. Past. Care 25:20. — Ne sceamige nanum men, ðæt he anum lareow his gyltas cyðe. Ælfr. Hom. II 602. Similar examples occur: Aug. Soliloquies 64:14; Past. Care 427:23; ibid. 24; Ælfr. Hom. I 528; Saints I 272:167; Wulfstan 165:8; ibid. 302:1; Gosp. Luke, ch. XVI, v. 3, Corp.; Alc. De Virtutibus 381:242.

As to *ā þrēotan*, only the following instances of this verb in combination with a dependent clause, have been found:

Hy to ær aþreat, þæt hy Waldendes willan læsten. Guþlac B 816. — Hie wile lifigende late aðreotan, ðæt heo ðurh fyrena geflitu fæhðe ne tydre. Solomon and Saturn 447. — Ac hwi ne læte ge eow þon̄ aþreotan þ ge ne wundrigen & ne herigen þte unnyttre is, þ is þes eorðlica (:wela?).[1] Boethius 72:19. — Ne aðreat hine na ðæt he ða dysegan ne tælde - - -. Past. Care 355:16. A similar example occurs ibid. 405:22.

Just as with regard to the infinitives occurring in combination with these three verbs, and for identical reasons, the function of the clauses of the examples quoted above, appears to oscil-

[1]) Inserted by editor.

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late. We should expect sentences of the following type: *hine lyst(eð) þæs þæt* - - -. As a matter of fact, there are such sentences on record. Thus we find e. g.:

Þæs us scamað swyðe þæt we bote aginnan. Wulfstan 165:39. — Ne sceal þæs aþreotan þegn modigne þ he wislice woruld ful-gonge. Codex Exoniensis, ed. Thorpe 347:31. (fr. BT.)

Doubtless, we may consider the type: *hine lyst(eð) þæt* - - -, to have originated in the dropping out of an originally extant pronoun such as *þæs*, which was perhaps felt to be unwieldy. Such a development is certainly not unparalleled, as is well known. The new structural type was supported by similar formations occurring in the case of semantically cognate verbs with regard to which they were organic.

What, then, should be considered the syntactical capacity of the clauses in question? Any other functions than that of a subject or an object are hardly to be thought of. And yet we may, here also, quite legitimately adopt the view that the omission of a pronominal genit. rei, i. e. *þæs*, appositionally qualified by the dependent clause, did not immediately transform this clause into an object or a subject, but that the clause proximately retained the import 'in respect of the circumstance that - - -', though the *relatio respiciendi* was not particularly expressed. It was the decrease in use of *þæs* in this connection that increased the tendency on the part of linguistic instinct to apprehend the naked clause as a direct object in the case of *(ge)lystan*, but as a subject in point of *(ge)scamian* and *ā̆þrēotan*, since here the *relatio respiciendi* proximately tended to become a causal relation (= a causal adverbial phrase). For in the latter case a functional change of the causal adverbial phrase could only result in the function of a subject, i. e. the sense 'a feeling of shame, or indignation, etc., in respect of, or on account of, the notion implied in the dependent clause, takes hold of a person' has at last been turned into the import: 'the idea contained in the sub-clause causes a sense of shame, etc., in a person'. As to the possibility of apprehending the dependent clause governed by *(ge)lystan* as subject, the same remarks hold good as in point of *(ge)lystan* + an infinitive (p. 116 sq.).

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In this connection may be considered the verb *forscamian*, which occurs, in at least one instance, without any (pro)-nominal subject but in combination with a dependent clause. The passage in question reads as follows:

---& hie forscamige ðæt hie eft swa don. Past. Care 151:17. Cp. the Latin version: augere culpam erubescant.

There would seem to be no examples on record of the verb *forscamian* with either a genit., or a nomin. rei. (See section A, p. 55). But the functional interpretation of the subordinate clause is identical with the one given in the case of the subordinate clauses dependent on *(ge)scamian* and *ā þrēotan*. Cp. extant personal constructions such as the following: 'We forsceamað dædbote don'. Scint 49:10. (from BT).

Here the phrase 'dædbote don' has the function of a causal adverbial phrase.

It has been mentioned in section A, on pp. 51, 59, and 56, that the verbs *(ge)hrēowan*, *ofhrēowan* and *ofþyncan* are often constructed with a genit. rei, but that there are instances extant, too, of all these verbs with a nomin. rei for their subject. Examples of *(ge)hrēowan* and *ofþyncan* in personal constructions of this latter description are adduced in section A (pp. 51 and 57), and of *ofhrēowan* here below.

Consequently, we need not hesitate to ascribe a subject function also to the subordinate clauses of sentences such as the following:

Hreaw hine swiðe þæt he folcmægþa fruman aweahte. Genesis A 1276. — Þa gereaw him eft, þæt his handgeweorc swylc sar þrowjan sceolde. Wulfstan 213:9. — Me ofhreow þæt hi ne cuðon ða godspellican lære. Ælfr. Hom. I 2. Cp. personal constructions such as: Þa ofhreow ðam munece ðæs hreoflan mægenleast. ibid. 336. — Me ofþincð ðæt ic hig worhte. Ælfr. Genesis, ch. VI, v. 7. — Xerxis, swiðe him ða ofþyncendum ðæt his folc swa forslagen wæs, he self þa þærto for ---. Orosius 80:23.

It should, however, be kept in mind that the existence of unmistakably impersonal constructions of these verbs in simple sentences must necessarily have influenced OE. linguistic instinct, so as to make it inclined to apprehend the dependent clause also on the analogy of a genit. rei. Cp. impersonal constructions such as the following: 'Þa (sc. me) þæs ofðuhte þ se þeoden wæs

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strang & stiðmod'. Metr. Paraphrase, ed. Thorpe, 279:32. This implies that the import tended to be: 'in respect of the circumstance that - - -', or even 'because'. But in the present case, this syntactical aspect had perhaps less prominence, since in simple sentences these verbs also occur with a nomin. rei for their subject. The same remarks are true in respect of the following quotation (given already, in section A, p. 57):

Ne ofþingð hit ðe, gif ic þus wer geceose? Apoll. of Tyrus 29:34,

on the supposition that we consider the construction of this sentence to be impersonal and, consequently, the phrase 'ne ofþingð hit ðe?' is interpreted as implying: 'dost thou not feel grieved?' But as pointed out in section A (l. c.), the impersonal character of the sentence is uncertain, since the contents of the conditional clause may doubtless be apprehended as subject (and not as causal adjunct) to the principal verb, and, consequently, the phrase 'ne ofþingð hit ðe?' may be supposed to have the more secondary signification 'does it not cause thee grief'?

Group 5.

There are several cases on record of verbs appertaining to Group 5, without any (pro)nominal subject, and in combination with subordinate clauses.

The personal character of such complex sentences is in some instances beyond all doubt. This holds good with phrases such as: (*him*) *becymð on mōd þæt* - - -, lit. 'it comes (him) on the mind that - - -', (*him*) *becymð tō gemynde hū* - - -, lit. 'it comes to (his) memory how - - -', *scīneð þæt* - - -, 'it is apparent that - - -', etc., since in simple sentences these two verbs occur with a nomin. rei, only. In other cases, the subject function of the respective clauses is more questionable. This is true with regard to clauses dependent on finite forms of the verbs (*ge*)*mǣtan*, (*ge*)*þyncan*, (*ge*)*twēogan* (*-twēon*), and (*ge*)*twēonian*.

Of these, (*ge*)*mǣtan* occurs in some few instances, only, in sentences of this description.

Examples found: Æfter twam gearum Pharao mætte, þæt he stode be anre ea. Ælfr. Genesis, ch. XLI, v. 1. — Gyf mon meteð þ he geseo earn on his heafod ufan gesettan, þ tacnað micel weorðmynd. Prognostics, Cockayne III 168. — Gyf hine meted þ - - -. ibid. — Similar examples occur: ibid. 170 (two instances); 172 (two instances); 174; 176.

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To judge from the form, only, of some of these quotations, they might just as well be considered to contain personal constructions, having a nomin. personæ for their subject, in which case we must assume the clauses to function as direct objects. Cp. the following passage:

Ic þe læde, þær þin mod oft ymb ræsweð & eac mæt (Boethius 51:13),

and see the discussion of the same, section A, p. 62. There are, however, no unequivocal examples of a nomin. personæ on record, and this circumstance, coupled with the fact that there are some unmistakable instances extant of accus. personæ (v. examples), renders it unnecessary to suspect a different mode of construction in the two cases. In other words, we may take it for granted that in the passages quoted, we have to do with instances of accus. personæ.

As to the syntactical function of the dependent clauses, it has been pointed out in section A, p. 61, that it is evidently quite on a par with that of e. g. the pronoun *hwæt* in sentences such as this: 'Ic swefna cyst secgan wylle, hwæt me gemette to midre nihte' (Rood 2), and that, unless they may be considered as subjects, both *hwæt* and the dependent clauses must be objects of contents. It was mentioned, too, that there are no unmistakable examples of the verb *(ge)mǣtan* with a nomin. rei for its subject, nor with an accus. rei for its object. The dependent clauses must be said to function, proximately, as objects indicating the limitation or the contents of the dreaming, i. e. they are adjuncts of limitation or contents. Cp. personal constructions containing the semantically cognate verb *swefnian*, such as: 'Gif ðu swefnast ðe twegen monan geseon - - -'. Prognostics, Cockayne III 212. But in course of time, this syntactical aspect of the clauses in question tended to become transformed, so that the original object of contents took the aspect of a subject, and the finite verb of the principal clause obtained the signification 'appears in a dream', at least in cases where the (pro)noun indicating the person, was, or could be apprehended as, a dative.

Complex sentences of the type: *him þynceð þæt* - - - abound. As an example:

Higesnotrum mæg eaðe ðincan, þæt þeos eorðe sie ungemet lytel. Metra X 7.

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According to Nietzsche (v. Wackernagel, o. c., p. 117), the prototype of NHG. *es dünkt mich* meant 'es denkt in mir'. If this is really so (and it appears hardly possible to deny the truth of the assertion), the logical sequence seems to be that we must consider dependent clauses of the type adduced, to have served, at least from the outset, in the capacity of direct objects, denoting the contents or limitation of the thinking. In other words, such sentences were probably once impersonal. It is evident, however, from what has been said above (p. 118 sq.) in point of the phrase *him þynceð* in combination with an infinitive, that in expressions of the type in question, the dependent clause could be apprehended as subject, in the course of the OE. period. This assumed syntactical change naturally involves also an alteration in the import. Thus an original signification: 'it thinks in him that - - -', turned into the sense: 'it appears true to him that - - -.'

Besides of the active formation *him þynceð þæt* - - -, there are extant examples of passive constructions of the aspect: *him is geþuht þæt* - - -. Cp. the personal constructions of the following passages: 'Lagu byþ leodum langsum geþuht.' (Runic Poem 21), and: 'No his lifgedal sarlic þuhte secga ænegum' (Beow. 842); (quoted already in section A, p. 65). The phrase *him is geþuht* is doubtless an imitation of Lat. *videtur*. The two OE. constructions, the one active as to form, and the other passive, were used quite indiscriminately, e. g. in rendering just this Latin passive expression. We are doubtless justified in drawing the inference that the function of the subordinate clauses is identical in the two cases. Cp. e. g. the following passages:

Ða slog se wind þone leg on þæt oþer hus, & ðuhte þæt hit eal forbyrnan sceolde. Blickl. Hom. 221. — Him wæs geþuht þæt seo cæppe hine atuge of ðam streame. Ælfr. Hom. II 160.

In view of the passive form of one of the constructions thus illustrated, we might be tempted to consider the one as well as the other of these evidently synonymous expressions to have a truly passive import: 'it is held as his opinion that - - -'. Since, however, the passive formation is only a collateral form due to Latin influence, there is but little probability that a passive sense was alternatively conspicuous in any noteworthy degree.

From what has been said above, it follows that from an OE.

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point of view, the constructive types: *him þynceð þæt* - - -, *him þynceð gōd þæt* - - - (see section A, p. 64), as well as *him is geþūht þæt* - - -, may be apprehended as quasi-impersonal, but should not be so, proximately.

The verb *(g e) t w ē o g a n (-t w ē o n)* is pretty frequently recorded in conjunction with dependent clauses.

Examples found: Gif he hwæt bið, ne tweoð nænne mon þ he hwæt ne sie. Boethius 38:5. — Þa hi him nealæhton, þa getweode hie hwæðer hie wiþ him mæhten. Orosius 56:31. Similar examples occur: Boethius 113:21; ibid., ed. Fox (fr. BT) 156:30; 164:4; 176:15; Orosius 192:15; ibid. 230:19; Bede 2:14; Blickl. Hom. 83; Wulfstan 3:7.

Are these complex sentences personal or impersonal? It has been shown in section A, p. 66 sq., that the verb *(ge)twēogan (-twēon)* never occurs with a nomin. rei in the shape of a (pro)noun for its subject, nor with a (pro)nominal accus. rei for its direct object. Whenever the object of the mental activity implied in the verb is expressed by means of a (pro)noun, this is either a genitive or else a dative or an accusative, governed by a preposition. Consequently, in the place of the constructions actually recorded, we might have expected complex sentences of the following aspect: *hine twēoð þæs ðæt* - - -, *hine twēoð þæs hwæðer* - - -. As a matter of fact, instances of this mode of construction are really met with, too. As an example: 'Mec þæs lyt tweoþ þæt me engel to ealle gelædeð spowende sped spreca & dæda'. Guþlac A 223. For further examples, see section A, l. c. As in the analogous cases of the verbs *(ge)lystan, (ge)scamian,* and *ā̆þrēotan* (v. p. 128 sq.), it is probable that the constructive type: *hine twēoð þæt* - - -, *hine twēoð hwæþer* - - -, arose from the ellipsis of a genitive such as *þæs,* or a prepositional phrase such as *ymb þæt.* Therefore, the naked clause initiated by *þæt,* etc., should undoubtedly be apprehended as having, originally, the same syntactical relation to the principal verb as *þæs* or *ymb ðæt,* i. e. it represented primarily a *relatio respiciendi.* But, owing to the dropping of *þæs* (*ymb þæt*), there arose a tendency, growing in strength, to look upon the dependent clause proximately as an object determining the extent or limitation of the import of the principal verb. Cp. complex sentences such as the following: 'Ic nauht ne tweoge ðæt ðu hit mæge gelæstan'. Boethius,

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ed. Fox, 174:31 (fr. BT). Moreover, from the analogy of quasi-impersonal sentences where the subordinate clause could be, or should be, apprehended as a subject implying the cause of the verbal action, there arose on the other hand the inclination to apprehend the dependent clause as the subject of the principal verb, so that the import became: 'the notion expressed by the sub-clause causes doubt to seize a person'. All these syntactical interpretations seem here to be more or less admissible in the OE. period.

OE. *(ge)twēo(ga)n* is met with, too, in passive constructions. As an example: 'Hit mæg beon tweod fram tyddrum modum, hwæþer - - -.' Dial. Greg. 177:8. The import of the passive form should be apprehended as in the similar case of *(ge)þyncan* (v. above).

The identical remarks made with respect to complex sentences containing a tense of *(ge)twēo(ga)n* apply also to the sparely recorded similar constructions in which the cognate verb *(ge)twëonian* is the principal verb. For the usual construction of *(ge)twēonian*, see section A, p. 68.

Examples found: Getweonode hi, hwæðer - - -. Orosius 1:14. — Hwam twynað forði, þæt - - -. Saints II 228:121. — Ða leorning-cnihtas beheold hyra ælc oðerne & him twynode be hwam he hit sæde. Gosp. John, ch. XIII, v. 22, Corp. Similar examples occur: Prose Solomon and Saturn, 192, ed. Kemble; Ælfr. Hom. I 556; Ælfr. De XII Abusivis 299; Sermo in festis Mariæ 122; Alc. De Virtutibus 381.

Cp. *(ge)twēonian*, without any (pro)nominal subject, in conjunction with an infinitive, p. 119, above.

Group. 6.

In Group 6 we find a large number of complex sentences of the kind under discussion.

The subject function of subordinate clauses dependent on verbs belonging to this semantic group, is in most cases doubtless incontestable, since the verbs of the principal clauses, besides in impersonal expressions such as *him gebyreð swā*, as a rule also occur with a nomin. rei for their subject. This is true, in the first place, in the case of the verbs with the import 'to happen, fare', etc., i. e. verbs such as *gebyrian, gangan, ofergān* ('to come to an end'), *(ge)limpan, (ge)sælan, (ge)weorðan, verbum substantivum*

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(*:hit bið þæt* - - -, 'it happens that - - -'), etc. It has seemed unnecessary to quote examples here of these or semantically cognate verbs with a nomin. rei for their subject. Instances of constructions of the type: *gebyreð þæt* - - -, 'it happens that - - -', are exceedingly common, too. As examples:

And hit gebyrede on ða tid, þe - - -, þæt eall seo stow wearð onrered. Wulfstan 214:16. — Hit on endestæf eft gelimpeð, þæt se lichoma lænde gedreoseð, fæge gefeallеð. Beow. 1753. — Hu mæg þæm geweorðan, þe on westenne meðe ond meteleas morland trydeð, hungre gehæfted, ond him hlaf ond stan on gesihðe bu samod geweorðað stearc ond hnesce, þæt he þone stan nime wið hungres hleo, hlafes ne gime, - - -? Elene 611. — Þa wæs sona æfter þon þ smyltness com. Bede 40:24.

There cannot of course be the slightest doubt either, about the personal character of the construction of complex sentences of the following aspects: *of* (*ādle, etc.*) *cymð þæt* - - -, 'illness (etc.) is the cause of - - -', *hit dereð þæt* - - -, lit. 'it hurts that - - -,' (*him*) *fremeð þæt* - - -, 'it avails (him) that - - -', (*him*) *hilpð þæt* - - -, 'it helps (him) that - - -.' Cp. extant sentences of the following type: *Þis cymð of* (*ādle, etc.*). As to an impersonal construction being possibly present in phrases such as: (*him*) *becymð tō gōde, gif* - - -, (*him*) *ne dereð, þēah* - - -, see section A, p. 71, and cp. the remarks made on p. 131 above, with reference to a similar construction containing the verb *ofþyncan*.

The verb (*ge*) *weorðan* as a principal verb of material import in conjunction with a dependent clause, occurs, besides in constructions where it has the signification 'to happen' (v. above), also, in a few instances, with one or other of the two or three different specialized meanings that sometimes characterize it in simple sentences. See section A, p. 81. In this case, the question as to the impersonal or personal character of the construction is more difficult of solution. Inasmuch as the different senses mentioned bear the impress of having developed out of one common, primary import (v. section A, as above, and cp. ch. II, p. 206), we may expect the clauses in question to have a similar syntactical function in all cases.

Examples found. Ða gewearð usic þæt - - - (:fate turned us in the respect that - - -, = the thought struck us that - - -; cp. below, and see ch. II, p. 206) we

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woldon swa drihten adrifan. Christ and Satan 256. — Þa gewearð (:the thought struck - - -) þone weregan, þe ær aworpen wæs of heofonum, þæt he in helle gedeaf. ibid. 669. — Ða gewearð (:the thought struck - - -) hine, þæt he gecierde inn to ðæm scræfe. Past. Care 197:14. — Ac hie gewearð (:the thought struck them = they agreed) þæt hie wolden to Romanum friþes wilnian. Orosius 178:7. — Romane hæfde geworden (import as in the preceding example) hwene ær þæt he on Asian faran sceolde. ibid. 208:28. — Hie ealle gewearð (sense as above) him betweonum þæt hie wolden Romanum geswican. ibid. 234:13. Similar examples occur: ibid. 280:20; Ælfr. Genesis, ch. XX, v. 13; Eccles. Inst., Thorpe II 414.

With the structural type represented by these examples we should compare the following impersonal constructions (quoted already in section A, p. 82 sq.):

Þa ðæs monige gewearð (:fate turned many in the respect - - -, = many thought - - -), þæt hine seo brimwylf abroten hæfde. Beow. 1598. — Hafað þæs geworden (:fate has turned - - -, = it has occurred to, it has seemed good to - - -) wine Scyldinga, rices hyrde, ond þæt ræd talað, þæt he mið ðy wife wælfæhða dæl, sæcca gesette. ibid. 2026. — Hu gewearð þe þæs (:how did fate turn thee in respect of - - -, = what made thee think of - - -), wine leofesta, ðæt ðu sæbeorgas secan woldes? Andreas 307. — Ge wearð him & þam folce on Lindesige anes (:they agreed) þ hi hine horsian sceoldan. Chron. 145, E (A.D. 1014).

As in the analogous cases of *(ge)lystan* and other verbs (v. p. 128 sq., above), the sentences containing a proleptic genitive no doubt represent a primary mode of construction, as compared with those showing the naked dependent clause. Cp. the following passage from Beowulf (line 1996): 'Ic ðe lange bæd, þæt ðu þone wælgæst wihte ne grette, lete Suð-Dene sylfe geweorðan guðe (:that you would let fate strike the South-Danes in respect of the war) wið Grendel'.

But if so, we should in the present case, too, admit that the naked clause had originally the same function as the genit. rei, and that subsequently in the course of time, it tended to be apprehended either as a subject or as an object, as the case might be, i. e. according to the proximate import of the expressions. Thus in a sentence of the type: *Ða gewearð usic þæt* - - - (Christ and Satan 256), the dependent clause could no doubt be apprehended as the subject, and then the principal clause assumed the signification 'it occurred to us (that - - -)'. But that this sense is secondary and certainly not the only one, or even the predominant one, in OE., is shown by the existence of the direct object (*usic*). This syntactical structure implies that the proximately original sense

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was 'fate turned us in the respect that - - -, = so that - - -'; in other words, the dependent clause at last represented an adverbial adjunct of effect, an import no doubt conspicuous, perhaps even predonderant, throughout the OE. period. Also in a sentence of the type: *Hie gewearð þæt hie wolden to Romanum friþes wilnian* (Orosius 178:7), the import was proximately 'fate turned them in the respect that - - - (so that - -), etc'., i. e. the dependent clause implied an adjunct of effect. But if we describe the meaning of the principal clause to be 'they agreed that - - -', then the subordinate clause appears primarily as a *relatio respiciendi*, which here passes into an object of limitation or contents (cp. p. 134 above). We should admit that in OE. this secondary sense must have tended to become prominent, but the retention of the old syntactical construction was necessarily an impediment for this import to get the upper hand in the OE. period. Cp. ch. II, p. 206.

Of the verbs appertaining to the present semantic group also *dugan* and *genyhtsumian* are met with in complex sentences of the type under discussion. Since in simple sentences these verbs often occur with a nomin. rei for their subject, the dependent clauses forming part of sentences of the aspect in question: (*h i m*) *d ē a g þæ t* - - -, (*h i m*) *g e n y h t s u m a ð þæ t* - - -, naturally appear as subjects, too. As to the possibly impersonal character of constructions of the following type: (*him*) *genyhtsumað tō* (*lǣcedōme, etc.*), *gif* - - -, 'it will be sufficient to cure (him) to - - -,' cp. section A, p. 91.

The very few instances extant of the verb *onhagian* in complex sentences of the following type: (*h i n e, h i m*) *o n h a g a ð þæ t* - - -, 'it is possible (for him) to - - -', etc., should next be considered.

Examples found: Þa ne anhagode Agathocle heora cyninge þæt he wiþ hie mehte buton fæstenne gefeohtan. Orosius 168:21. — Gif ðe onhagige þæt ðu hit (:the law) healdan mæge, far ðe inn. Reg. Ben. 96:23.

As to the construction of this verb in simple sentences, v. section A, p. 88 sq. The construction of the complex sentences quoted would seem to owe its origin to the omission of some prepositional phrase such as *tō þām*. Cp. the cognate verb *gehagian*, which is

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recorded with the identical import in sentences of the following aspect: *hine tō þām gehagaþ þæt* - - -. See section A, p. 87. Cp. also the similar cases of *(ge)lystan*, etc., p. 129 above.

The construction dat. personæ instead of (and beside) accus. personæ, which latter no doubt is the older type, renders it likely that the predominant function of the *þæt*-clauses was here that of a subject. Cp. *onhagian* in conjunction with infinitive constructions, p. 113 above.

In some instances we find the verb *behōfian*, without any (pro)nominal subject, in combination with subordinate clauses.

Examples found: Behofes forðon ðe þte - - -. Gosp. Matth. ch. V, v. 30, Li. Cp. the Lat. version: expedit enim tibi ut - - -. — Behofas ⁊ behoflic (sc. is) him þ - - -. ibid. ch. XVIII, v. 6, Li. Similar passages occur: ibid. John, ch. XVI, v. 7, Li. and Ru.; ibid. XVIII, v. 14, Li. and Ru.

Cp. *beþurfan*, below. The syntactical function of these dependent clauses may be apprehended variously. See remarks on *behōfian* + infinitives, p. 121 sq., above.

The verb *(ge)nēodian*, too, is recorded as occurring, though evidently very rarely, as principal verb in sentences of the present kind. I have annotated one example, only, viz. the following:

On cealdum eardum neodað, þæt þæs reafes mare sy. Reg. Ben. 89:6.

As shown in section A, p. 92 sq., there are no absolutely reliable instances on record of a nomin. rei with this verb, and none whatever of an accus. rei. The verb is in simple sentences constructed with a genit. rei. Consequently, the *þæt*-clause in question no doubt from the outset constituted a *relatio respiciendi*, which later on most probably tended to assume the character of a subject.

The identical observations made as regards *(ge)nēodian*, are valid also in the case of the few extant instances of the verb *beðurfan* as principal verb + a dependent clause.

Examples found: Forðon þe þe beðærfeþ þæt - - -. Gosp. Matth., ch. V, v. 30, Ru. Cp. the Latin version: expedit enim tibi ut - - -. — Beþearfeþ him þ - - -. ibid. ch. XVIII, v. 6, Ru. Cp. *behōfian* above.

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Unmistakable subjects are of course subordinate clauses dependent on either of the phrases: *him gebyreð*, *gedafenað* and *gerīst*, 'it befits him', as well as on *tō him belimpeð*, 'it concerns him', since in simple sentences they generally appear with a nomin. rei. It is doubtless unnecessary to quote any examples of such complex sentences. They are of very frequent occurrence (at least those containing one of the three phrases with the signification 'it befits').

There are also a couple of instances on record of clauses dependent on the verb *gewunian* with the signification 'to be customary'. The passages in question read as follows:

Þær gewunað eac hwilum, þæt þær byþ ypped & gehyred seo wynsumnes. Dial. Greg. 281:5. — Him (:the bull) gewunode þæt he wæs geond þæt westen sundor-genga. Blickl. Hom. 199:5.

Judging from the import of the principal verb, it appears impossible to give to these clauses any other function than that of a subject. Cp. the one example on record of *gewunian* as, possibly, an impersonal verb, quoted in section A, p. 98.

Lastly, there is no reason to assume that complex sentences of the following aspect are not quasi-impersonal constructions: (*hit*) *stent þæt* ---, 'it occurs (stands written) that ---', (*hit*) *stent on bēc:* ---, and *fylgð:* ---, 'it stands in book: ---', 'it follows in writing: ---' (unless the two latter types are considered as simple sentences; v. section A, p. 99 sq.).

Group 7.

It appears that of the verbs included in Group 7, only *cweþan*, *cȳþan*, *secgan* and *sweotolian* are met with in complex sentences of the kind that concerns us here. There are fairly numerous examples extant of one or other of these verbs as principal verbs in combination with dependent clauses. This is true especially with reference to *secgan*. It is hardly necessary, or even possible, to quote all the instances on record. Some typical ones will suffice.

Examples containing *cweþan:* Hwæþre in bocum ne cwið, þæt ---, Crist II 453. — And mona, hit cwæð, adeorcað. Wulfstan 93:5. — Eft hit cwyð on oðre stowe: ---. Poenit. Ecgberti, Thorpe II 214. Cp. the Lat. version: dicitur in alio loco, ---.

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Examples containing *cȳþan:* Her us cyð þæt - - -. Blickl. Hom. 23. — Her cyþ on, hu - - -. Canons Edgar, Thorpe II 284.

Examples containing *secgan:* Swa hit eac in ðære ealdan æ sægð & awriten is, þæt - - -. Dial. Greg. 13:21. — Her segð hu - - -. Poenit. Ecgberti, Thorpe II 202. Cp. The Lat. version: Hic dicitur quomodo - - -.

Examples containing *sweotolian:* Ic unfealde & gerecce her æfter twa dæda - - - Benedictes, on þam openlice swutelað þæt - - -. Dial. Greg. 162:13, MS. H. Cp. MS. C: - - -, in þam openlice scineþ, þæt - - -. — Her swutelað on ðison gewrite, hu - - -. Codex Dipl. III 314 (c. 1000).

As to the probable syntactic capacity of the dependent clauses occurring in these quotations, cp. the observations made on the function of the infinitives met with in conjunction with a finite form of the verb *ālīefan*, pp. 124 and 125 above. In both cases, we may assume either an object or a subject function, of which the former is no doubt the primary one. Cp. the impersonal construction met with in passages such as the following: 'Her cyð on ðysum gewrite ða forewearde ðe - - -'. Codex Dipl. IV 76 (quoted already, in section A, p. 102).

That a subject function was sometimes salient, or in other words, that the verb of the principal clause could have a passive import, no doubt finds a support in the following facts. One is the form of the passage from the Dialogues of Gregor, 13:21, quoted already above: 'Swa hit - - - sægð & awriten is, þæt - - -'. Another circumstance that tends to the same conclusion, is perhaps that in some cases the Lat. passive expression *dicitur* is recorded as rendered by the OE. phrase *hit cwyð*, etc. (v. the examples adduced).

Group 8.

As regards the one instance recorded of a verb belonging to Group 8, viz. *cunnian*, as a principal verb without any (pro-) nominal subject, but in combination with a dependent clause, the identical observations apply as in the case of *hit cwiþ þæt - - -*, etc. (v. above). The one example on record (from Byrhtnoth's Death, line 215) reads as follows:

Nu mæg cunnian hwa cene sy.

The original function of the subordinate clause was no doubt that of an object. It is probable, however, that here, too, a passive import developed.

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CHAPTER II.

Genetic Survey.

Preliminary remarks.

The present chapter is devoted to an investigation into the genesis of the OE. Impersonalia, the actual occurrence of which was the subject treated in the preceding chapter. It goes without saying that the further we try to penetrate into the earlier history of these Impersonalia, their growth and development, the more we are liable to lose our sure footing, and the more we are reduced to more or less uncertain conjectures.

In several instances it will appear probable, from reasons to be given in the following, that the origin of an individual OE. Impersonale is to be assigned to Parent Aryan times, possibly to an epoch still further back in the development of language. Such is the case, without doubt, of at least some of the so-called meteorological impersonal expressions, representing hereditary modes of construction and, in not a few instances, most likely belonging to very ancient, pre-historic periods of the growth of human speech.

Other Impersonalia occurring in OE. are evidently of later date, some being probably Teutonic creations and common to all or many of the Teutonic dialects, while others are not met with outside the W Germanic linguistic group, and others yet again had their origin in OE., the latter being analogical formations from extant OE. impersonal expressions, or else formed on literary Latin musters.

It is obvious that, in order to give a full account, reliable in all details, of the earlier history of any OE. Impersonale, it would be a *desideratum*, if not a *conditio sine qua non*, to have a thorough knowledge of the older and contemporary Teutonic languages, and also to be well conversant with older and contemporary non-

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Teutonic languages belonging to the IE. linguistic group, such as Sanskrit, Greek, Celtic, etc. Unfortunately, my linguistic studies are not so extensive as to satisfy this desideratum. As, however, an investigation into the life of the OE. Impersonalia should no doubt include also an attempt, at least, at delineating their earlier history, I have had to base my statements as regards the occurrence of corresponding impersonal expressions in the cognate non-Teutonic and Teutonic languages on the lists given, in the first place by Miklosisch (o. c., p. 33 sqq.), and then also by other writers (v. Bibliography). A great many examples of impersonal expressions are taken from dictionaries. Of course the circumstance just mentioned is a serious drawback, since in this manner some OE. Impersonalia may have had counterparts, whether both morphologically and semasiologically, or only as regards their import, or their form, in the non-Teutonic as well as the Teutonic languages, although these have not been recorded by Miklosisch, etc. And the consequence of this is that I have had to forego any conclusions whatever in some instances, where an application of other criteria than that of the existence or non-existence in the Teutonic or non-Teutonic languages of equivalents to the OE. Impersonalia, does not render it probable that there existed such prototypes in the older languages, or that the Impersonalia in question were of, let us say, OE. origin. Consequently, the following account of the genesis of the OE. Impersonalia must necessarily be fairly defective. Still I venture to hope that the conclusions which I have been able to draw, will be found correct as far as they go.

There are, I think, chiefly two different kinds of criteria that should be applied in determining whether any given OE. Impersonale has a pre-English history or not.

One of them, which may be called the exterior criterion, is based upon *the co-existence* or *non-co-existence*, in other older or contemporaneous cognate languages, of counterparts to the OE. impersonal expressions, be they morphologically, and at the same time semasiologically, identical parallel expressions, or correspondencies in point of their meaning, only. This criterion, which is the one generally made use of here, may in not a few cases suffice in itself to establish the earlier or later origin of an OE. Impersonale.

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In case an OE. impersonal phrase has an equivalent in one or more other Teutonic dialects, the supposition is perhaps not quite precluded that it may be a direct imitation in one of these languages and thus not an inherited mode of expression. However, in view of the presumably very rare intercourse and contact between the different Teutonic peoples at the time, we are probably justified in entirely disregarding such a possibility, at least in respect of the vast majority of Impersonalia.

An assumption of a spontaneous growth in two, and still less in more, languages of exactly coinciding phrases, although no doubt theoretically possible, seems hardly acceptable and may be disregarded, too.

The second kind of criterion, which has only rarely been found of any use except in conjunction with the first, draws its conclusions from the import of the Impersonale, and from its peculiar morphology. This latter test we may denominate the interior criterion.

In some cases in respect of which an application of either of these criteria alone is not sufficient, it has been possible to arrive at fairly definite inferences as to the relative age of separate Impersonalia by making use of the two criteria conjointly.

With reference to yet another group of impersonal constructions in OE., we shall unfortunately find that neither one, nor the other, nor both criteria used in conjunction, can reveal to us anything in this respect. In other words, there are cases concerning which it does not seem possible to settle with any degree of certainty whether the Impersonale in question is of exclusively OE. origin, or an inherited formation. In such cases where the two tests fail to suggest anything, we shall have to leave the question as to the earlier history of the Impersonale unsolved. The fact that there are no examples adduced by dictionaries and other sources, of parallel formations to any given OE. Impersonale in other languages, cannot of course be said to prove conclusively that such never existed.

As an illustration of the mode I have adopted for the purpose of establishing what may be said on the score of the history of any given OE. Impersonale, I here give a few indications, only. The further investigation of each separate Impersonale, or groups

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of impersonal formations, follows on p. 151 sqq., where also all equivalents in other languages, as far as they are known to me, are stated.

Let us look, for instance, at an Impersonale such as OE. *hit snīwð*, 'it snows'. This impersonal expression is a representative of Impersonalia having equivalents in the non-Teutonic as well as in the Teutonic languages, all of which derive ultimately from the identical IE. root **sni(n)gᵘ(h)-*. Consequently, we may safely infer that the OE. Impersonale is the descendant of a very early formation, extant already in the hypothetical Parent Aryan language. In such rare instances as this, we need apply no further criterion. If we do, we shall find that the inference made from an inspection of the import of the category of Impersonalia under discussion completely tallies with the conclusions already drawn by means of the exterior criterion.

With regard e. g. to OE. *hit blǣwð*, 'it blows', an application of the exterior criterion gives a negative result only, since there are no absolute equivalents, i. e. corresponding both as to etymology, construction, and sense, in any of the cognate languages, as far as I know. The form of the verb *blāwan*, being an old strong verb, with, originally, a reduplicated preterite, and especially its import, render it, however, probable that *hit blǣwð* had prototypes of very ancient date, as old, perhaps, as the predeccessors of OE. *hit snīwð* and other Impersonalia of an equally concrete character. Cp. *hit styrmð*, which phrase, to judge from the structure of the verb, is a later creation, no doubt. With respect to such Impersonalia as *hit blǣwð*, the interior test by itself permits us to draw our inferences with fairly complete certainty.

As an example of an OE. Impersonale, concerning the history of which very little can be said by applying either of the two criteria alone, we may adduce the impersonal verb *winterlǣcan*, 'to grow wintry'. We find no absolutely corresponding constructions in the non-Teutonic languages, and one or two, only, that correspond as to sense. Since moreover it is very doubtful indeed whether we have to annotate any absolute equivalents in any of the Teutonic dialects, the exterior criterion is not sufficient in itself to suggest anything certain as regards the earlier history of

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this Impersonale, except that the impersonal mode of expressing the idea implied was evidently common Aryan property.

On the other hand, if we have recourse to the interior test, only, the one thing we can say is that the *verb* must be an exclusively Teutonic formation, to judge from its morphology, and that, owing to the fairly complex import of the phrase, its semantically identical equivalents in the older languages cannot belong to the category of such very old impersonal expressions as the assumed predecessors of e. g. *hit snīwð*, with its more elementary signification. By means of an application of both criteria, some more light is thus thrown on the history of the Impersonale in question.

Before passing the individual OE. Impersonalia in review from the genetic point of view, it will be convenient in this place to touch upon a theory advocated by some scholars, with reference to the primary aspect of impersonal phrases belonging chiefly to the two semantic groups: expressions for *natural phenomena*, and expressions for *physical and mental affections*. These two categories doubtless contain some of the oldest Impersonalia on record. See e. g. Brugmann, *Syntax*, § 16 sq.

As regards the first category of Impersonalia, represented by e. g. Sanskr. *várṣati*, 'it rains', which category, as seems universally acknowledged, comprises the oldest impersonal expressions extant, it has been suggested that the impersonal structure of such formations is perhaps not the primary one, but an abridgment or curtailment of an older personal constructive type, a development which is said to have taken place at a very remote period in the life of language. The reason for this assumption is the following. In the first place it should be kept in mind that there can hardly be any doubt that already primitive man possessed the faculty of making the natural phenomena, which could not fail to attract his attention, the subject of oral communication. Consequently, the growth of linguistic expressions referring to the fall of rain, etc., is to be ascribed to very remote, prehistoric times. Now we must assume that it doubtless came naturally to primitive man to see in the phenomena of the surrounding world manifestations of a will that was felt to be the motive pow-

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er producing these phenomena, a progress of events entirely conformable to what took place when he himself performed an action, urged on by the impulses of his will. And therefore, oral communications made by our aboriginal forefathers on the subject of occurrences of the kind in question probably took the shape of judgments containing also the expression for the idea of a 'power' or god with the capacity of the originator of the action implied in the verb. This no doubt more or less nebulous notion of an active power or will could be assigned also to inanimate things such as the aerial region in which the phenomenon occurred, the cloud that sent forth the flashes of lightning, etc. 'Für den Urmenschen regnet zwar auch der Luftraum, weil er will, - - -.' Jerusalem, o. c., p. 128.

From of old, much ingenious thought has been devoted to this problem as to the probable primary aspect of the precursors of earlier epochs to the Impersonalia in question. For an account of the reasons given by different authors for their opinions in this respect, as well as of his own views on the subject, see Miklosisch, o. c., p. 13 sqq. Among modern scholars that have studied the problem, we may mention also Brugmann, who gives as his opinion (*Syntax*, p. 20 sqq.) that we need not, and cannot, deny the possibility of impersonal structures having in the course of time developed out of personal ones. At the same time, he points out that a development in the opposite direction in historic times is proved by the actually recorded structural change from a primary *pluit* into the later *Dominus pluit*. He (l. c.) further declares that, as regards meteorological verbs occurring as Impersonalia, the fact that they are often found also with a noun such as *God*, *Heaven*, etc., for their subject (: *Iuppiter tonat* beside *tonat*), cannot prove that from the outset a performer of the action implied, was mentioned by the speaker, and that later on, this active subject was omitted as no longer necessary. 'Denn für solche Naturerscheinungen wird es Bezeichnungen bereits gegeben haben, ehe man einer mythologischen Auffassung in diesen Dingen Ausdruck gab.' Nor can, according to Brugmann, the existence of expressions such as Sanskr. *vātō vāti*, 'the wind blows', as compared with *vāti*, 'it blows', prove the personal type to be primary as compared with the impersonal one. On p. 24 of the same work

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he alleges as his opinion that, as a rule, the personal construction of sentences denoting natural phenomena is secondary. Sigwart, o. c., p. 76, says with regard to this question: '- - -, und geschichtlich betrachtet sind wohl manche der jetzt impersonalen Wendungen ursprünglich mit dem Gedanken eines bestimmten Subjects verknüpft gewesen.' Cp. what the same author says, on p. 8 sq., concerning the possibility of the impersonal expressions being relics of an embryonic stage in the development of language: 'Die bekannte Sprachgeschichte zeigt also den impersonalen Satz nicht etwa als eine embryonale Form, aus der nachweisbar erst der vollständige, in Subject und Prädicat deutlich gegliederte Satz sich entwickelt hätte; ebenso könnte jener umgekehrt grammatisch als eine Verkümmerung und Rückbildung betrachtet werden,- - -.' See also Wackernagel, o. c., p. 115 sq.

It will most probably ever remain an open question whether or no we are to assume an idea of a personal agency, a power or god, in the capacity of the originator of the phenomenon implied in the verb, to have been always present in the mind of primitive man, when giving utterance to his observations. He may for religious or superstitious reasons not have dared to utter the name of the power or the deity that was, however, never wholly out of his mind's eye. It was perhaps sacred or taboo. Or else, not being able to discern in his surroundings any such agency, he may have developed the faculty of giving utterance to some kind of expression from which every idea of an active will of any kind soever was entirely absent. In other words, even primitive man may have been able to pronounce sentences in which the sole idea expressed, and meant to be expressed, was the existence of the phenomenon in question.

However this may be, it is obvious that later on in the history of language, when the assumed naïve anthropomorphic conception of the phenomena of the exterior world of primitive man, must be considered to have become virtually lost, it was possible and usual to form sentences of a type in which the activity implied in the verb could by itself be made the object of a judgment, without the slightest reference to any motive power.

If the assumption of an original personal construction of the type mentioned is correct, it follows that a change in the predica-

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tional aspect of the relevant expressions must have been effected. An older predication of *action:* 'God rains', was supplanted by a predication of *existence:* 'rain exists, there is rain.' It need hardly be pointed out that, as in modern languages, no doubt also in the older languages, impersonal sentences of a type represented by e. g. Latin *pluit* sometimes had an import that gives them a place among predications, not of *existence,* but rather of *attribution:* 'the situation is characterized by rain', or of *identity:* 'what we hear, is rain'.

The second category of impersonal expressions of very early origin, with reference to which the surmise has been pronounced that the notions implied were primarily expressed by means of personal locutions that later on acquired the aspect of impersonal constructions, now calls for our attention.

To my knowledge, it is chiefly Delbrück (Grundriss III, §15; V, p. 30 sqq.) who maintains that Impersonalia denoting *physical* and *mental affections,* i. e. expressions such as Latin *miseret me, piget me, poenitet me, pudet me, taedet me,* owe their origin to eine 'Umdrehung der Konstruktion', or otherwise expressed, that e. g. *pudet me* is derived from *pudeo.* The truth of this assumption has, however, been very much called in question. Thus e. g. by van Wijk, o. c., p. 94 sqq., who asserts that for reasons adduced by him, it is not very probable that this 'Umdrehung der Konstruktion' (in both Sanskrit, Latin, German, and Slavonic) assumed by Delbrück, has really come to pass. Van Wijk gives as his opinion that the impersonal mode of construction represented by the type *pudet me,* which type may be presumed to have once been of a very much more extensive prevalence than is the case in historic times, became partly displaced by personal constructions of the aspect *pudeo,* thus in a reverse direction to Delbrück's inversion, and that this supplanting commenced already before the Parent Aryan had become divided into the separate IE. languages. Wackernagel, o. c., p. 117, makes the assertion that we cannot ascribe priority in point of origin to either of the two modes of construction (*pudet me — pudeo*). Note that this author (l. c.) in the category of impersonal or personal expressions under discussion includes also expressions for *mental activity,* such as German *es dünkt mich, ich denke.* Like van Wijk and Wackernagel, also Fay,

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Syntax and Etymology, § 2 sqq., denies the probability of Delbrück's inversion. See especially § 8 of the essay mentioned. It should be noted that with regard to verbs denoting emotions, among which he also includes verbs implying hunger, thirst, and thought, Fay considers the impersonal construction to be due to a kind of haplology. Thus he maintains (§12, §15) that the original type probably was *me miseret misericordia tui*, and that this phrase, through ellipsis of the cognate noun, acquired the aspect of an impersonal locution: *me miseret tui*. This ellipsis is said to be particularly transparent in the case of some impersonal expressions occurring in the Rig Veda and adduced by Fay (§ 12). These Sanskrit examples, according to the same authority, are our earliest of record among verbs of emotion. Cp. the constructive types represented by Sanskr. *vátō váti* and *váti* (v. above).

As in the case of the meteorological verbs (v. above), we have to annotate a change in the predicational aspect also in constructions denoting affections, etc., if, as regards this latter semantic category, we accept Delbrück's theory of inversion. The personal type *pudeo*, which in that case we consider as primary, represents a predication of *perception*, 'I feel shame', whereas *pudet me* should be interpreted as a predication of *action*, 'a feeling of shame takes hold of me'.

With reference to the relative age of extant constructions such as *pudet me* + *genit. rei* and *res* (as subject) *pudet me*, respectively, v. p. 176.

After these precursory remarks, let us now proceed to an investigation of the separate OE. Impersonalia, in order to ascertain what may be said about their genesis. The impersonal expressions are here considered in the identical order employed in the foregoing chapter, with the exception that, when such an arrangement has seemed preferable, semantically related impersonal phrases have been treated in groups.

There occur in OE. ,as well as in other, cognate, languages, numerous instances of impersonal expressions consisting of an auxiliary verb such as *sceal, wile, mæg, mōt, begin∂*, + an infinitive, thus in sentences of the following typical aspects: *hit begin∂ frēosan, hine mæg þæs of∂yncan, hine sceal gescamian* - - -,

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swā þām men dyde, þe ---, etc. I have not considered it necessary, or of any interest, to trace the origin of phrases such as these. It is evident that corresponding formations were extant in all cognate languages.

In the case of the individual OE. Impersonalia I shall give all the impersonal equivalents, whether they are absolute equivalents, or corresponding as regards their etymology, or import, only, that occur in the cognate languages, according to my authorities. (v. Bibliography). In some instances I shall adduce examples of personal constructions of related import, viz. when this mode of construction appears to be the habitual one in any language.

The languages from which parallel phrases have been quoted are: Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, and more rarely, Old Bactrian, Celtic and Old Bulgarian; further Gothic, Old Norse, Old High German (MHG.) and, more rarely, Old Saxon and Old Frisian.

SECTION A. SIMPLE SENTENCES.

Group 1: Expressions for natural phenomena.

To the first of the subcategories into which we have divided Group 1, which subcategory comprises expressions for *atmospheric phenomena*, belong the following impersonal phrases: *hit frīest, hit winterlæc(e)ð, hit hagolaþ, hit rīnð, hit snīwð, hit *blǣwð, hit *styrmð, hit *līeht, hit þunraþ*, and *hit *(ge)wideraþ*. Most of these bear the impress of being of very ancient origin.

OE. hit frīest, 'it freezes'.

With regard to this Impersonale we find the following semantically corresponding impersonal expressions in the non-Teutonic IE. languages: Sanskr. *śyáyati*, 'it freezes', Greek *ἐπάγωσε*, 'it froze', and Lat. *gelat*, 'it freezes'. The roots of the Sanskrit, Greek and Latin verbs all differ. Cp. personal expressions met with in Greek and Latin such as *κρύος, πάγος ἐστίν*, and *gelu est*. Cp. also Sanskr. *tápati*, Lat. *calet, caletur*, 'it is hot', OBulg. *rositŭ*, 'it thaws'. There are no instances met with

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in the non-Teutonic languages, as it appears, of impersonal expressions corresponding also etymologically to the OE. Impersonale.

Among the Teutonic languages, ON. only offers a parallel to OE. *frēosan* in impersonal use, viz. the verb *frjósa*, a derivative from the same root as the OE. verb. There is, however, no example given in the works available to me of this verb as an Impersonale, and with the sense of a meteorological verb, except in combination with the finite verb *taka*, 'to take', as exemplified by the phrase: *tekr at frjósa*, 'frost sets in'. However, this impersonal construction, corresponding to the OE. phrase *hit begind frēosan*, necessarily implies also the existence of ON. *frýs*, 'it freezes'. Cp. the identical verb *frjósa* as an Impersonale in phrases belonging to other semantic categories: 'fraus allan drykkin', 'the whole beverage froze', '- - - þar fraus þa um nætr', 'they felt cold of a night'. (Quoted from Fritzner). Cp. also MHG. *mih friuset*, 'I feel cold'. We may compare, too, ON. *frystir*, 'frost sets in', *kaldar*, 'there comes a cold breath', and, belonging to other semantic categories, *ísa tekr af vötnum, leysir ísa*, 'the ices break', etc.

In view of the existence of an ON. absolutely corresponding parallel, we need not hesitate in ascribing to OE. *hit frīest* a pre-English history. The impersonal manner of expressing the phenomenon in question is evidently of very ancient date and the common property of the IE. languages, to judge from the existing parallel expressions. The form of the verb, being a strong verb derived from a verbal base, as well as the concrete character of its import, also evidently point to high antiquity. Whether we are justified in assuming quite so ancient an origin as in the case of e. g. Lat. *tonat*, etc., may be doubtful.

OE. hit winterlæc(e)þ, 'it grows wintry, cold'.

This Impersonale has semantically cognate counterparts in Greek *χειμάζει*, 'it is wintry' (or 'it storms'), and Latin *hiemat*, 'it is wintry'. The Greek and Latin verbs derive from the nouns, Greek *χεῖμα*, and Latin *hiems*, both='winter', from ultimately the same IE. root **ǧheiem-*.

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In ON. there occur some impersonal phrases of similar import: *vetrar*, 'hiemat', *leggr vetr á*, 'wintry weather sets in'.

Evidently, the impersonal structure of phrases of the above collateral significations is of very old date, and probably common IE. property. To judge from the more abstract and complex character of the notions expressed by *hiemat*, etc., as compared with the more concrete idea implied by for instance *tonat*, it appears probable that expressions of the former category are of younger origin than those of the latter. Their growth without doubt presupposes a certain amount of power of synthesis and abstraction. It is hardly possible to assume primitive man to have been able to combine together all the different phenomena that go to the making of a complexity of ideas such as the one exemplified by, for instance, Greek χειμάζει, and to give a verbal expression to this comprehensive notion.

No absolute equivalents, i. e. identical both as regards etymology, construction, and sense, seem to exist in any of the languages cognate with OE. However, the fact that there occurs another composition with the same suffix, W. Germ.*-*laikjan*, OE.-*lǣcan* (v. ch. I, p. 17), viz. the impersonal OE. *nēalǣcan*, 'to approach', which verb has an equivalent, both morphologically and semasiologically, in MLG. *nâleken*, would seem to imply that this suffix was commonly used in the W. Germ. dialects. Cp. also MHG. *weterleichen*, 'to emit a flash of lightning'. Of course there are no reasons why we should not suppose the other OE. compound verbs with the same suffix, such as *winterlǣcan*, *æfenlǣcan*, etc. (v. ch. I, p. 17 sq.), to have had morphological counterparts in the other Teutonic dialects, although no instances are to be found, as it appears.

Whether the impersonal phrase OE. *hit winterlǣc(e)ð* had absolute equivalents outside OE. must remain an open question. It may be an OE. analogical formation, created in order to render the notion of an incipient action, a movement in nature towards winter. We may compare Latin inchoative verbs such as *lucescit*, *vesperascit*, and OE. *hit æfenlǣc(e)ð*. The sense 'it grows wintry' easily arose out of the one just mentioned. Cp. *sumorlǣcan*, recorded with the import 'to draw on towards summer', only, and *æfenlǣcan* 'to become evening' (p. 171 below). Or else

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hit winterlæc(e)ð may be the OE. form of a common Teutonic, or at least WGerm., expression, corresponding to the Latin structures just mentioned.

The original import of the suffix **-laikjan* is hardly discernible, owing to the widely diverging senses of the OE. composite verbs, formed presumably with this suffix. It would seem, though, that a primary import, more or less vaguely related to that of the independent verb: ON. *leika*, 'to be in movement', and OE. *lǣcan*, 'to move quickly, to spring' (v. Wright § 658), is distinguishable in such compositions as *æfenlǣcan*, 'to become evening', *sumorlǣcan*, 'to draw on towards summer', and *nēalǣcan*, 'to approach'. In these verbs the suffix appears to imply 'a coming nearer (to)', in a temporal or local sense. Note also the OE. substantive *lāc*, with corresponding formations in other Teutonic dialects, and entering as a suffix into several compound nouns. Thus: ON. *veðrleikr*, 'weather', MHG. *weterleich*, 'lightning'. The original import of this noun appears to have been 'motion in general', but in OE. it had widely diverging significations. (v. Wright, § 608).

It must be admitted, however, that such an assumed import in the suffix **-laikjan* is hardly, or rather not at all, perceptible in other composite verbs presumably containing this suffix, such as *dyrstlǣcan*, *rihtlǣcan*, etc. But these may be late formations, created at a time when the primary sense had become less distinct or had disappeared altogether, so that the suffix could be used in forming compound verbs of apparently mutually unrelated significations.

OE. hit hagolað, 'it hails'.

Absolute equivalents of this impersonal expression are not met with in the non-Teutonic languages, as far as my knowledge goes. In Greek there occurs e. g. the personal phrase *χάλαζα γίγνεται*, 'hail comes into existence'. Latin has the impersonal *grandinat*, 'it hails', from a root, the IE. nominal base **ghrādh-*, **ghrandh-*, 'hail', other than that of the OE. Impersonale.

In the Teutonic dialects we find the ON. Impersonale *haglar*, of the identical root and sense as the OE. verb. Also the mor-

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phologically and semasiologically cognate Impersonale *heglar*, 'it hails'.

In spite of the scant indications in the different languages of impersonal expressions denoting the fall of *hail*, we are without doubt justified in supposing prototypes, identical as to sense and structure, of *hit hagolaþ* to be of common Teutonic and even common IE. growth. Moreover, we must assume the fall of *hail*, *rain*, and *snow*, as well as the phenomena of *thunder* and *lightning*, etc., owing to the very concrete and elementary character, and the frequent occurrence, of these phenomena, to have become the subjects of oral communication from a very early stage in the development of human speech. Whether the expressions used to communicate the ideas of falling *hail*, etc., originally took a personal or impersonal from, is uncertain. See p. 147 sqq., on the theory of a transition from a personal construction *Deus tonat*, to the impersonal *tonat*.

The OE. impersonal verb *hagolian*, being a denominative formation, is common Teutonic property, to judge from ON. *hagla*, likewise denominative and derived from the same nominal base.

Hagolian is used in a figurative sense also, viz. in the following quotation from Orosius 104:19: '- - - heofones tungul on þæm tidun cyþende wæron, þæt hit wæs niht oð midne dæg, & on sumre tide hit hagalade stanum ofer ealle Romane'. In view of the Latin source of King Ælfred's Orosius, we might expect the expression *hit hagalade stanum* to be an imitation of Latin impersonal sentences such as *pluit lapidibus*, *pluit sulfure et igne*, etc. Cp. *lapidat*, 'it rains stones'. However, the Latin original (rendered in EETS 79, p. 104) of this passage has a personal phrase: '- - - et saxea de nubibus grando descendens, veris terram lapidibus verberavit'. Against the assumption of an imitation from Latin may be argued also that the identical construction, albeit in conjunction with another meteorological verb, is met with in Gothic already, as exemplified by the following quotation from the Gospel of St. Luke, ch. XVII, v. 29: '- - - rignida swibla jah funin us himina', 'it rained fire and brimstone from heaven'. As remarked in ch. I, p. 20, the identical passage of the Greek text, curiously enough, has the impersonal

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verb ἔβρεξε + nouns in the accusative.[1]) The Gothic translation, as is well known, generally follows its source pretty closely. In ON. also we find a corresponding phrase: *rignir blóði*, 'it rains blood'.

The use of impersonal verbs with the import 'to fall after the manner of hail or rain' (cp., p. 157 sq., the verb *rīnan* in similar constructions), evidently is of fairly ancient date. Whether the instances encountered in the Teutonic dialects are inherited from Prim. Teutonic times, as appears probable from the existence in Gothic of the mode of construction just illustrated, as compared with the Greek rendering, or whether they are formed on literary Latin patterns, is doubtful. Possibly, too, the phrases in question had still older prototypes, to judge from the existence of Latin phrases of the type: *pluit lapidibus* and of Gothic sentences such as: 'rignida swibla jah funin.'

OE. hit rīnð, 'it rains'.

As regards this Impersonale, we find semasiologically corresponding phrases in the non-Teutonic languages, such as Sanskr. *várṣati*, Greek ὕει, late βρέχει (with, possibly the same ultimate origin as the Teutonic substantive formation **reγana-*, 'rain'; v. Kluge, s. v. 'Regen'), and Lat. *pluit*, all = 'it rains'. Further Lat. *rorat*, 'the dew is falling, it drizzles', O Bulg. *dŭžditŭ*, 'it rains', *rositŭ*, 'the dew is falling', also = 'it thaws' (v. *hit frīest*, p. 151 above).

There is no example on record of an impersonal use of the Gothic verb *rignjan*, morphologically and semasiologically identical with OE. *rīnan*, except in the passage from the Gospel of St. Luke quoted above: 'rignida swibla jah funin', where the verb has a metaphorical import, nor of any other impersonal verb with the same signification. ON. has the Impersonale *rignir*, of identical origin and sense with the OE. verb. Further we find the expression *tekr at rigna*, 'it begins to rain', and other impersonal phrases. From ultimately the same nominal base, Prim. Teutonic **reγana-*, 'rain', is derived OHG. *iz regenôt*, 'it rains'.

[1]) Concerning the interchanging accusative and instrumental forms, see Brugmann, *Syntax*, p. 24.

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With respect to the impersonal manner of giving expression to the notion implied in the verb, the same remarks hold good, without doubt, as in the case of *hit hagolaþ* (see above). *Hit rīnþ*, too, has prototypes of very ancient origin, although derived from other roots. The impersonal use of the OE. denominative verb *hit rīnþ* is evidently inherited from Prim. Teutonic times, to judge from the existing morphological and semantic counterparts occurring in other Teutonic dialects.

In the Homilies of Wulfstan, we find two examples of a construction consisting of the impersonal verb *rīnan* + instrumental and dativel forms:

And hit þa ongan rinan feowertig daga and feowertig nihta tosomne þy mæstan rene. Wulfstan 206:19. — And hit agan þa rinan XL daga and XL nihta tosomne þæm mæstan rene. ibid. 216:33.

It seems very probable that we are here confronted with a fairly old manner of construction, inherited from Prim. Teutonic times, as in the case of the similar phrase discussed already: *hit hagalade stānum* (v. p. 155 sq.). On the other hand, there are no exactly corresponding sentences met with in Latin, according to dictionaries. Cp. the Gothic rendering of the passage from the Gospel of St. Luke, ch., XVII, v. 29, quoted above, containing nouns in the dative (or instrumental), in the place of the accusative forms of the Greek text. We may compare also OE. expressions of the type: *hit rīnþ blōdigan regne* (to be spoken of further on, in connexion with other phrases containing *rīnan* with a metaphorical sense) and ON. *rignir blóði*, as well as Lat. *pluit lapidibus*. On the other hand, cp. Lat. *pluit sanguinem!*

The OE. version of the much-quoted passage from the Gospel of St. Luke, ch. XVII, v. 29, runs as follows: 'hyt rinde fyr & swefl of heofone'. We have mentioned in Ch. I, p. 20, that the passage cited is a rendering of the Latin version: 'pluit *ignem* et sulphur de cælo.' In the Greek text we find ἔβρεξε + accusative forms. Cp. also Lat. *pluit sanguinem*. The OE. nouns *fyr* and *swefl* are doubtless accusatives, like Latin *ignem*, and represent objects of contents or result.

Probably, the OE. phrase in question is an imitation of the Latin expression 'pluit ignem, etc.', since the passage is taken from the Gospels, translated from a Latin source, and since, more-

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over, there do not seem to occur any corresponding phrases in original OE. texts, nor in other Teutonic dialects. The same remarks hold good with respect to the phrase met with in the passage from Orosius 3:26: 'hu mon geseah weallan blod of eorþan & rinan meolc of heofonum', i. e. in case we really are to assume an impersonal structure here (v. ch. I, p. 19 sq.).

Next we should consider another use of *rīnan* in a metaphorical sense + a dative or instrumental, as recorded in the Verc. Homilies 131:6: ' & hit þonne onginnað rinan blodigan regne'. With regard to this construction, the same observations are valid, no doubt, as in the case of *hit hagolaþ stānum*, discussed above (p. 155). It is sufficient to refer here to what was said concerning the last-mentioned phrase.

OE. hit snīwð, 'it snows'.

This Impersonale has the following absolute equivalents in the non-Teutonic languages: OBactrian. *snaēžaiti*, Greek *νείφει*, Lat. *ninguit*, all from the same root, (v. ch. I, p. 21) and all = 'it snows'. Cp., from the identical root: Sanskr. *snihyati*, 'becomes wet', and the OIrish impersonal *snigid*, 'drops fall', 'it rains'.

In the Teutonic dialects there appear but scanty indications of an impersonal use of verbs with the import 'to snow'. We may adduce, from the same verbal root as OE. *snīwan:* ON. *snýr* (poetical word), 'it snows', and OHG. (*iz*) *sniwit*, with the same sense. Cognate formations are: ON. *snjáfar*, *snjófar*, 'it snows'. In ON. we find also: *snæ leggr*, lit. '(it) lays snow', and *tekr at fjúka*, 'the snow begins to blow about'. In the extant remains of Gothic there are no instances of this, or any other impersonal verb, with the same import.

Obviously, the impersonal structure of phrases denoting the fall of *snow* is of very old origin. A remarkable and almost unparalleled circumstance that characterizes the Impersonale *hit snīwð* is that its counterparts in the other IE. languages mentioned derive from the identical IE. verbal root **sni*(*n*)*gu*(*h*)-. The prototype, corresponding both as to etymology, construction, and sense, of OE. *hit snīwð* thus probably arose during the Par. Aryan epoch. As in the case of e. g. the impersonal verbs *hagol-*

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ian, rīnan, līehtan and *þunrian* (v. pp. 161 and 162 below), we may doubtless assume the expressions denoting fall of *snow*, whether personal or otherwise, to be of still greater antiquity. (v. *hit hagolað*, p. 154 above.)

OE. hit *blǣwð, hit *styrmð, 'it blows, storms'.

The ideas expressed by these impersonal expressions could be rendered personally in Sanskrit: *vā́tō vā́ti*, 'the wind blows', or impersonally: *vā́ti, váyati*, 'it blows'. Cp. O Bulg. *vějati*, 'blows'. These verbs are from the same root, IE. **vē-*, also met with in OE. *wāwan*, NHG. *wehen*, 'to blow'. In Greek we find the personal expression *χειμών ἐστι*, 'storm (or winter) exists', and the impersonal *χειμάζει*, 'it blows', (also 'it is wintry weather'; v. *winterlǣcan*, p. 152 above). In Latin, we come across the personal phrases *ventus flat, furit, sævit*, 'the wind blows', 'the storm rages'. The Latin verb *flare*, not recorded as an Impersonale by dictionaries, is derived from the same root as OE. *blāwan*.

Curiously enough, there would seem to be no instances on record of an impersonal use of verbs, corresponding as to etymology and import to OE. *blāwan* and *styrman*, in the other Teutonic dialects. Thus Gothic has the composite verb *ufblēsan*, only, 'to blow up', from ultimately the same root, but used as a personal verb, and no example, whether impersonal or not, of any verb derived from, or cognate with, Prim. Teutonic **sturmi̯an*. In ON. we find the related verb *blása*, 'to blow', in personal use, in sentences of the type: *vindrinn blæss;* and the verb *styrma*, 'to storm', likewise in personal constructions such as the following: 'gékk um veðrit ok styrmdi at þeim', 'the wind turned and stormed at them'. (Quoted from Fritzner). In senses not implying natural phenomena, the ON. verb *blása* is met with in impersonal use, e. g. in phrases of the type: *blæss e-n*, 'someone becomes swelled'. Cp.: 'blés ut af honum klæði', 'the wind took hold of his clothes'. (Quoted from Fritzner). These two ON. verbs, in the sense of meteorological verbs, occur personally only, as it appears. On the other hand, there are examples of impersonal expressions of cognate import, containing other ON. verbs, e. g.: *hvessir veðrit* (acc.), 'the wind increases in violence', *leikr á norðan*, 'there blows

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up a northerly wind', *lygnir eptir storminn*, 'the wind falls calm after the storm', *storminn* (*acc.*) *oesir*, 'the storm becomes violent', *veðr* (*acc.*) *lægir*, 'the wind abates'. The OHG. verb *wâjan*, *wâen*, 'to blow' (NHG. *wehen*, OE. *wāwan*), occurs as an Impersonale, for instance in the following sentence: 'so iȝ wat, so wagot iȝ', 'when it blows, then the sea goes high'. (Quoted from Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax II*, p. 129).

As in the case of OE. *frēosan*, *hagolian*, etc., the impersonal mode of expression is of common IE. origin, to judge from the existence of Sanskr. *váti*, etc. The ideas implied in *hit *blǣwð*, *hit *styrmð*, clearly belong to the same category of concrete notions as, for instance, that of *pluit*.

In spite of the very scanty, and not quite relevant, indications of an impersonal use of the cognate ON. verb *blása*, we are without doubt justified in assuming a prototype of OE. *hit *blǣwð* to have existed in Prim. Teutonic. To such a conclusion we are drawn not only by the clear, though slight, indications just mentioned, but also by reflecting on the fact that in all modern Teutonic languages the phenomenon in question is expressed impersonally, as in Sanskrit *váti:* Mod. English *it blows*, Mod. German *es bläst*, Mod. Swedish *det blåser*, etc., all of cognate etymology, being derived from the Prim. Teutonic verbal base **blē-*, 'to blow'.

The impersonal use of the OE. verb *styrman* is probably of later date. As we have seen above, there do not seem to occur any instances in the other Teutonic dialects of corresponding impersonal verbs with the sense 'it storms', or with other imports. Moreover, *styrman* is a denominative verb, as well as its ON. and OHG. equivalents. Possibly the presupposed impersonal use of the prototype of OE. *hit *blǣwð* was the pattern on the analogy of which also *styrman*, etc., came to be used impersonally. Against an assumption of an exclusively OE. growth of the impersonal usage of the verb may be argued the fact of its existence in many modern Teutonic languages. Thus in Modern German *es stürmt*, Modern Swedish *det stormar*, both ultimately from the Prim. Teut. substantive **sturma-*, 'a storm'. The German verb is the descendant of the Prim. Teut. denominative verb **sturmian* 'to storm', whence also OE. *styrman*.

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OE. hit līeht, 'there is a flash of lightning'.

We find the selfsame sense expressed after the identical manner of construction in Sanskr. *vidyótatē*. Cp. Sanskr. *rṓcatē*, 'shines', *lṓkatē* 'sees', from the IE. root **luk-*, whence also, ultimately, OE. *līehtan* (v. ch. I, p. 22). Further in Greek *ἀστράπτει*, and in Lat. *fulget, fulgurat, fulminat*. The roots of these Impersonalia differ from that of the OE. verb. In Greek, as well as in Latin, there also occur personal constructions: *fulgur fulgurat*.

Etymologically identical with OE. *līehtan* (< the Prim. Teut. nominal base **leuhta-*) is the Goth. personal verb *liuhtjan*, 'to shine', never occurring with the sense 'to emit lightning'. From the Prim. Teut. verbal base **luh-* was derived the personal Gothic verb *laúhatjan*, 'to lighten, emit flashes of lightning', as recorded in the Gospel of St. Luke, ch. XVII, v. 24: 'Swaswe raihtis lauhmuni lauhatjandei us þamma uf himina in þata uf himina skeiniþ, swa wairþiþ sunus mans - - -', which is a rendering of a personal Greek construction. In ON. we find the verb *ljóma*, (from ON. *ljómi*, 'a flash of light, radiance', < Prim. Teut. **leuhman-*) used impersonally, but with a diverging import: *ljómar af e-u*, 'there radiates a light from something'. Further the verb *ljósta*, also used as an Impersonale: 'laust kirkjuna', 'the lightning struck the church'. (Quoted from Fritzner).

OHG. has (*iz*) *blecchazit*, 'corruscat'. The verb *bleccazzen* is derived from same root as Lat. *flagrare, fulgere, fulminare*. (v. Walde, p. 297). NHG. *es blitzt*, 'it lightens', is the direct descendant of the OHG. Impersonale. In MHG., the verb *liuhten*, 'to shine', of identical origin with OE. *līehtan*, occurs impersonally.

With regard to the age of the impersonal mode of expressing the occurrence of the natural phenomenon we call *a flash of lightning*, the same observations are doubtless valid as in the case of *hit hagolað, hit rīnð*, discussed above. In view of the actual existence of semantically equivalent Impersonalia in some of the non-Teutonic languages, we must assume the impersonal structure to be common Aryan. Moreover, this Impersonale, too, refers to a phenomenon of so very common and so very tangible a nature, as to render it highly probable that the formation of phrases indicating the existence, at a given time and

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in a given locality, of such a phenomenon is to be ascribed to an epoch very remote indeed in the development of language.

As to a possible change in the construction (*Deus tonat* > *tonat*), see p. 147 above.

Whether the impersonal use of OE. *līehtan* with the import 'to emit a flash of lightning' is an exclusively OE. formation or not, is doubtful. It is true that its counterparts in the contemporary Teutonic dialects do not seem to occur with this signification. But in Modern German, *leuchten*, the descendant of OHG. *liuhtan*, sometimes occurs with the signification in question. Note Mod. Germ. phrases such as: *es leuchtet am Himmel.*[1])

OE. hit ðunrað, 'it thunders'.

Identical both as regards sense, structure and etymology with this OE. Impersonale are Sanskr. *tányati*, *stanáyati*, as well as Lat. *tonat*. Cp. Sanskr. *avasphūrjati*, 'it thunders in the distance', Greek *βροντά*, and OBulg. *grĭmĭtu*, corresponding as to mode of construction and import, only.

In Gothic there is no instance recorded of any verb with the sense of OE. *þunrian*. Nor do dictionaries, and other works to which I have had recourse, give any examples from other Teutonic languages, except OHG., from which language is adduced the phrase (*iz*) *donarôt*, containing the verb *donarôn*, cognate as to etymology and sense with OE. *þunrian*.

It need hardly be pointed out that the notion expressed by Latin *tonat* must, with as good reasons as in the case of e. g. *ninguit*, *pluit*, etc., be supposed to have found its oral expression at a very early epoch. It is of course impossible to know whether, originally, this took the shape of a personal or an impersonal construction. However this may be, the occurrence in Sanskrit and Latin of impersonal verbal forms of identical etymology and import, indicates without doubt the existence of the impersonal structure in at least Parent Aryan times. As in the case of OE. *hit snīwð*, discussed above, we are here, too, confronted with the

[1]) NHG. *es wetterleuchtet*, 'there is a flash of lightning', is the descendant of the MHG. verb *weterleichen*, 'to emit a flash of lightning'. The NHG. verb *wetterleuchten* has received its modern form through false associations with the simple verb *leuchten*, 'to shine', etc.

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rare fact that the OE. Impersonale, and its OHG. equivalent as well, is the direct descendant of this Par. Aryan prototype, all from the IE. root *(s)*ten-*.

OE. hit *(ge)widerað, 'it is fine weather'.

There would seem to occur no instances whatever, in the cognate languages, of impersonal phrases containing verbal forms from the same root and with the same sense as the OE. impersonal verb *(ge)widerian*. From other roots are the following Greek and Latin impersonal expressions, of more or less related significations: *συννέφοφε*, 'the sky is clouding over'; Lat. *disserenat, disserenascit*, 'it is clearing up', *nubilat*, and the passive *nubilatur*, 'it is getting cloudy'. Also *nubilare coepit*, 'it began to get cloudy'.

In ON. we find the verb *viðra*, 'to blow', of the same origin as the OE. verb, and sometimes used impersonally, as e. g. in the phrase: *fjöld um viðrir*, 'the wind often shifts', thus with an import widely differing from that of OE. *gewiderian*. From ON. we may adduce also a fairly large number of impersonal expressions containing verbs from various roots (none of them identical, however, with the one from which OE. *gewiderian* is derived), and more or less cognate as to import. As examples: *veðr birtir*, 'it is clearing up'; *dregr frá*, 'the skies disperse'; *gerir ljóst*, 'it grows light'; *leggr hríðir á*, 'a storm is brewing'; *lýsir veðrit*, 'the weather is clearing up'; *rökkr at éli*, 'the sky becomes overcast before the storm'; *þynnir þoku*, 'the mist grows thinner'. In MHG. there occurs the impersonal phrase *ez witeret*, 'it is (or becomes) (good or bad) weather'. The MHG. verb *witeren* derives from the same root as the OE. verb. Cp. MHG. *ez wolkenet*, 'it is getting cloudy'.

As seen from the examples adduced, the impersonal structure of phrases with an import related to the one implied by OE. *hit (ge)widerað* belongs to the joint stock of Aryan linguistic formations. On the other hand, judging from the more synthetic character of their import, we probably cannot attribute to their assumed prototype the same high antiquity as to that of *ninguit* etc.

Concerning the OE. impersonal verb in question, the (at least apparent) non-existence of corresponding impersonal verbs,

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of identical etymology and sense, in the other Teutonic dialects no doubt argues in favour of the assumption of an exclusively OE. formation. *Gewiderian*, moreover, is a denominative verb, which fact points to a relatively late origin of the verb.

To the second of the subcategories of Group 1, which subcategory includes expressions for *natural phenomena other than atmospheric phenomena*, belong the following impersonal phrases: *hit grēwð, hit wealwað, hit *(ă)hlēoðraþ, swēgð, hit *singð ongēan* (uncertain Impersonale), *hit dropað* (uncertain Impersonale), **iernð* (uncertain Impersonale), **wielð blōd* (uncertain Impersonale), *hit *frumlīeht, hit *lēohtað*, and *hit *dagað*.

On the whole, the Impersonalia of this subcategory must be considered to be of later origin than the meteorological impersonal expressions.

OE. hit grēwð, 'plants, etc., grow'.

Of this Impersonale I have found a single equivalent, the ON. impersonal phrase *grær*, of identical sense and etymology. We may compare the same verb as an Impersonale with a metaphorical import, as exemplified in the expression: *grær um heilt með (þeim)*, '(they) become quite reconciled, (so that no trace of their former discord remains)'. In MHG., the verb *gruonen*, 'to become green', another derivation from the same root, is met with in impersonal use, as in: 'ez gruonet an den Esten', 'the »Voralpen» grow green'. (Quoted from Behaghel, o. c., p. 125). Cp. also OHG. *loupazit*, 'spring sets in'.

The existence in ON. and in OE. of the identical construction tends to show that this feature was common Teutonic property, although accidentally not recorded in other Teutonic dialects. Inasmuch as the non-Teutonic languages appear to make use of personal expressions only, it would seem very probable that the supposed prototype of OE. *hit grēwð*, ON. *grær*, is of exclusively Teutonic growth, formed on the pattern of inherited Impersonalia denoting natural phenomena.

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OE. hit wealwað, 'leaves, etc., wither'.

There appear to be no indications whatever as to an occurrence outside English of counterparts to this OE. Impersonale.

Thus, ON. *visna*, 'to wither', is not mentioned as an Impersonale by Fritzner, and OHG. *wesanên*, of the same origin and import as ON. *visna* and OE. *wisnian*, is, like these, a personal verb.

We may doubtless consider OE. *hit wealwað* to be an analogical formation, built up on the pattern of other OE. impersonal verbs of cognate import. It does not appear impossible to suppose the inherited Impersonale *hit grēwð* to be the model imitated.

OE. hit *(ă)hlēoðrað, 'there is a sound'; swēgð, 'there is a ringing sound'.

With respect to these Impersonalia, the same statement holds good as in the case of *hit wealwað*, and many other OE. Impersonalia, viz. that there seem to exist no equivalents, identical as to origin and sense, as well as construction, in any of the non-Teutonic languages. In the first Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians (ch. XV, v. 52) of the Gothic Bible, there occurs a passage containing an Impersonale of related import: 'þuthaúrneiþ auk jah dauþans usstandand unriurjai, - - -.' The expression *þuthaúrneiþ* is a direct rendering no doubt of the Greek impersonal phrase σαλπίσει. These two verbs are derived from different roots, diverging also from that of the OE. verb. Cp. Greek σημαίνει, 'there is a blast of trumpet', which, according to Miklosisch, o. c., p. 48, is an impersonal phrase. Note that also Brugmann, *Syntax* § 15, considers σημαίνει as an Impersonale, emanating from an older personal construction. Other authorities assume a personal construction here, with the self-evident subject omitted.

The same root from which derives OE. *hlēoðrian*, (IE. **klu-*, 'to hear') is present also in the denominative ON. verb *hljóða*, 'to sound', which verb, however, does not occur as an Impersonale, as it appears. On the other hand, we may adduce the following ON. impersonal expressions containing verbs from other roots: *gellr í skóginum*, 'the wood rings again'; *þýtr fyrir regni*, 'the wind howls before the rain'; *slaxar í sárinu*, 'there is a splashing sound in the wound'.

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Of different origin, but identical as to import with OE. *swēgð*, is the Latin Impersonale *tinnit*. The ON. verb *svagla*, 'to splash', is ultimately derived from the same root as OE. *swōgan* (*swēgan*). It occurs as an Impersonale e. g. in the following passage: 'skalf hann af kulda svá at svaglaði í kerinu', 'he shook with cold, so that there was a splashing sound in the tub'. (Quoted from Fritzner).

Probably, acoustic phenomena could be expressed impersonally already in Parent Aryan times, since we find examples of this mode of construction in Greek, as well as in Latin. In the Teut. languages the impersonal construction seems to be common property. As to the individual OE. Impersonalia, it appears impossible to decide whether they are exclusively English, or whether they had exact counterparts in the other Teut. dialects.

OE. hit *singð ongēan.

As remarked in ch. I, p. 26, the impersonal character of this expression is very doubtful. In case it is really impersonal, its import is: 'there is a resonance'. However, we may with almost absolute certainty assume a personal construction here. See ch. I, l. c. There are no indications of the existence of impersonal expressions in other Teut. dialects, containing verbs corresponding to OE. *singan* as to sense and etymology.

OE. hit dropað, 'drops of water fall'.

OE. *hit dropað* with its fairly unmistakable impersonal character, has no counterparts, it seems, in the non-Teutonic languages. Cp. e. g. Lat. *guttae cadunt*. Nor do the contemporary Teutonic dialects show any traces of an impersonal use of verbs corresponding to OE. *dropian* as to sense and origin, as it appears. In ON. we find the intr. verb *stöpla*, 'to squirt', in impersonal phrases such as: *stórum stöplar nú yfir*, 'the water now dashes freely (into the ship)' Cp. also Mod. Swed. *det droppar från taken*, 'the rain is dropping from the eaves'. The Swed. verb *droppa* is derived from the identical base contained in OE. *dropian*.

In view of these very meagre indications of equivalent expressions in other related languages, we can only say that the impersonal mode of giving expression to such phenomena as the

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one implied by *hit dropað* was probably common Teutonic property. Whether etymologically identical verbs to OE. *dropian* were used impersonally in other Teutonic dialects as well, is doubtful.

The presumably impersonal construction of this verb as recorded in OE., whether of exclusively OE. origin, or extant in other cognate languages also, was modelled, in all probability, on such phrases as *hit rīnð* (or their prototypes), of similar import.

OE. *iernð; *wielð blōd.

The identical observation made as regards the phrase *hit dropað* (v. above) is valid also concerning the probable pattern on which the expressions **iernð* and **wielð blōd*, if real Impersonalia with the import: 'there is a flow of lava', and 'there is a flow of blood', respectively, might have been modelled. As to the question: impersonal or not, v. ch. I, p. 28.

OE. hit *frumlīeht, hit *lēohtað, and hit *dagað, 'it dawns'.[1])

These Impersonalia had equivalents with identical, or related, significations both in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. Thus Sanskr. *uccháti*, Greek *διαφαύσκει*, 'it grows light', *διαυγάζει*, 'it dawns'. The same notion was, however, also rendered by means of personal constructions in Greek, such as *ἡμέρα γίγνεται*. Further we find: Greek *συσκοτάζει*, 'it grows dark', and Latin *lucet* (*coepit lucere*), *lucescit*, *dilucescit*, *illucescit*, and *diluculat*, all = 'it dawns'. Note that the Latin verbs of these phrases are ultimately from the same root as the OE. verbs *frumlīehtan*, *lēohtian*, viz. IE. **luk-*. Cp. Latin (post-classical) *diescit*, with the same import.

In ON. we find the verb *lýsa* < Prim. Teut. verb **leuhsian*, 'to shine', < Prim. Teut. **leuhsa-*, adj. and subst., 'light'. This ON. verb occurs as an Impersonale in phrases such as *lýsir, tekr at lýsa*, 'it dawns, begins to dawn.' Further there is

[1]) It should be noted that OE. *hit *dagað*, as well as e. g. Latin *diescit*, ON. *dagar, náttar*, MHG. *ez taget*, and other phrases adduced, no doubt in many cases referred not so much to the phenomena of light and darkness caused by the movements of the sun, as to the time of day.

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extant the impersonal expression *dagar*, of identical etymology and meaning with OE. *hit *dagað*. Other ON. impersonal formations of cognate import are e. g.: *eldir nótt*, 'it dawns', *húmar*, 'it is getting dusk', *kveldar*, *sólina kveldar*, 'evening is closing in,' *myrkvar*, *myrknar*, 'it is getting dark', *náttar*, 'night draws on', *rökkr*, 'it is getting dark', etc. The MHG. verb *liuhten*, 'to shine' (OHG. *liuhtan*), of the same origin as OE. *līehtan*, is met with as an Impersonale in the phrase *ez liuhtet*, 'it shines', etc. Further MHG. *ez taget* (a verb not recorded in OHG.), is identical as to etymology with ON. *dagar*, OE. *hit *dagað*. Cp. MHG. *ez schatewet*, 'the shadows are thickening'.

Evidently, the growth of the impersonal constructions denoting the coming of daylight, the closing in of darkness, etc., belongs to very remote epochs. From Parent Aryan times these constructions survived into the different IE. languages. In the Teutonic dialects they were evidently quite common.

As regards the OE. impersonal verb *frumlīehtan* in particular, we have seen (ch. I, p. 29) that there occur no exactly equivalent formations in other Teutonic languages. Inasmuch as there are some instances of nouns and adjectives in ON. which in all respects are the counterparts of OE. substantives and adjectives, respectively, such as *frumburðr*, 'first childbirth' — OE. *frumbyrd*, 'birth', *frumskapaðr* — OE. *frumsceapen*, 'first-born', it is permissible no doubt to assume that also the OE. noun *frumlēoht*, 'first light', had its equivalent in ON. Whether such an assumption is justifiable also with regard to the OE. verb *frumlīehtan* is very doubtful, though it may be so. To my thinking, it seems preferable to suppose the OE. impersonal verb to be an analogical OE. formation, shaped directly on the noun, on the pattern of other OE. Impersonalia of similar import.

The OE. impersonal phrase *hit *lēohtað*, like *hit *frumlīeht*, would seem also to have no exact counterparts in other Teutonic dialects. Consequently we may infer that it, too, constitutes an exclusively OE. formation.

As to OE. *hit *dagað*, on the other hand, there are, as we have seen, absolute counterparts in ON. and in MHG. which fact without doubt points to the conclusion that we are here confronted with an Impersonale of pre-English origin, and extant in the

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parental Teutonic language already. It may have been this inherited Impersonale, *hit *dagað*, which served as a pattern for the formation of the two other impersonal phrases of similar import, *hit *ƒrumlīeht*, and *hit *lēohtað*.

As examples from languages other than OE., of impersonal phrases belonging to the semantic category *Natural phenomena*, but having no exactly corresponding parallels as to sense among the OE. Impersonalia, the following expressions may be adduced: Greek σείει, 'there is an earthquake'; ON. *leggr fjörðu*, 'the fiords become covered over with ice', *frýs haf alt*, 'the sea gets frozen over entirely', *leysir vatn*, 'the water becomes open', *flœðir*, 'the water rises', *fyrvir*, 'the water ebbs', *sólu hallar*, 'the sun is setting', *festir eld í e-t*, 'something catches fire', *e-n velkir í hafi*, 'someone is tossed about on the sea', *kefr skip*, 'a ship is sinking', *drekkr e-m*, 'someone is drowned', *roðar*, 'there is a redness (in the sky)' (etc.; there is quite a host of similar expressions met with in ON.); OHG. *iz wâgôt*, 'the waves run'.

The impersonal constructive type with verbs of the above significations was clearly a common Teut. feature.

Group 2: Expressions for various specifications of time.

The following are the Impersonalia belonging to this semantic group: *hit æƒenlæc(e)ð*, *hit *æƒnað*, *hit cymð tō - - -*, *hit *ferеð tō - - -*, *hit (ge)nēalæc(e)ð*, *hit sumorlæc(e)ð*, *hit winterlæc(e)ð*, and **ƒringð nēah*. Collectively, these impersonal expressions do not bear the same impress of very high antiquity as several of those of the first group. Still, some of them doubtless represent common Aryan modes of constructions.

The OE. impersonal phrases of this group often occur in more than one of the three subcategories into which we have divided it (v. ch. I, p. 31). The Impersonale *hit cymð tō - - -*, 'the time comes for - - -', etc., is also met with in sentences where it has a local import. See Group 3, p. 172 sqq., and cp. the phrase *cymð tō bōte*, Group 6, p. 201. The notion of time naturally grew out of the doubtless more primary idea of locality. Note that also the verbs contained in the impersonal expressions *hit *ferеð tō - - -*

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hit (ge)nēalǣc(e)ð, and **þringð nēah*, proximately imply a movement towards a place.

Subcategory a: *Expressions denoting time in general.*

OE. hit cymð tō - - -, 'the time comes for - - -'.[1]

This phrase apparently has no counterpart in the non-Teutonic cognate languages. Cp. Latin personal expressions such as *tempus prope adest, imminet.*

As regards the Teut. dialects, I have found one ON. impersonal expression, only, corresponding as to sense with the OE. Impersonale and containing the verb *koma*, etymologically identical with OE. *cuman*, and none in the other dialects. The ON. example has the following aspect: *kemr at dagan*, 'day is coming'. For a discussion on the history of the Impersonale in question, see *hit cymð tō - - -* with a local sense, p. 172 sq.

OE. hit *fereð tō - - -, hit (ge)nēalǣc(e)ð, *þringð nēah, all- 'it draws on towards - - -.'

For want of examples of parallel formations in the cognate languages, we can say next to nothing with reference to the genesis of these Impersonalia. They may be exclusively OE. formations, but there is evidently nothing that hinders us from assuming a common Teutonic, or WGerm., origin, either. Note that the Swedish verb *nalkas* (a loan-word: MLG *nâleken*, the exact parallel to OE. *nēalǣcan;* v. ch. I, p. 32) is met with in Mod. Swed. phrases such as: *det nalkas tiden för avgörandet*, lit. 'it is approaching the time for the decision'. I have found no indications of an impersonal use of the MLG. verb.

Subcategory b: *Expressions referring to seasons or religious festivals.*

OE. hit cymð tō - - -, 'the time (of some religious festival) is at hand'; hit (ge)nēalǣc(e)ð, 'it draws near'.

See the similar phrases in subcategory a.

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OE. hit sumorlǣc(e)ð, 'it draws on towards summer', hit winterlǣc(e)ð, 'it draws on towards winter'.

There would seem to be no examples of impersonal expressions extant in the non-Teut. languages with the above significations. Cp. Latin personal phrases such as: *ver incipit, hiems adventat, appropinquat,* 'spring, winter, sets in'.

From the Teut. dialects may be cited: ON. *várar, sumrar, haustar,* and *vetrar,* 'spring, etc., sets in', *dregr at (jólum),* '(Xmas) is coming', *líðr fram (vetrinum),* '(winter) is coming to an end;' MHG. *ez sumeret, winteret,* 'it is summer, winter,' *ez meiet,* 'it is May'.

There can be no doubt, as it appears, of the common Teut. usage of impersonal expressions with the import in question. Some of the verbs occurring in these expressions are also etymologically related to semantically corresponding OE. verbs. However, no verbs of exactly the same structure are met with. Cp. ch. I, p. 34. We must leave unanswered the question whether there existed in Prim. Teut., or at least in WGerm., exact parallels to the OE. Impersonalia *hit sumorlǣc(e)ð* and *hit winterlǣc(e)ð.* It is quite admissible, no doubt, to assume the impersonal mode of construction to be common Aryan. Cp. *hit winterlǣc(e)ð,* 'it is wintry' (p. 152 above) and *hit ǣfenlǣc(e)ð,* below.

Subcategory c: *Expressions denoting different times of the day.*

OE. hit ǣfenlǣc(e)ð, hit *ǣfnað, 'evening sets in'.

Related as to import, but not with regard to etymology, to these OE. Impersonalia are e. g. the following impersonal expressions, met with in Greek and Latin: *ονσκιάζει, vesperascit, advesperascit,* 'evening sets in', *diescit,* 'day sets in'. Cp. personal constructions such as Greek *ἑσπέρα γίγνεται,* 'evening comes', *ἡμέρα γίγνεται,* 'day appears', and Latin: *dies, hora, prope adest, imminet,* 'it dawns', etc.

In the Teut. dialects there are several examples met with of semantically cognate impersonal constructions. Thus we find ON. *aptnar, kveldar,* 'evening sets in', *náttar,* 'night comes on'.

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OHG. *iȝ âbandêt* (the verb *âbandên* is related as regards etymology to OE. *æfnian*), *iȝ wint zi dage*, 'day begins to break', MHG. *eȝ taget, nahtet, morginet*, 'day, etc., comes'.[1])

We may doubtless infer from the facts thus brought together, that the impersonal mode of construction in sentences referring to the different times of the day is of Aryan origin. On the other hand, we cannot know whether the OE. phrases in question had exact counterparts in other Teut. dialects or not, i. e. whether they are of common Teut. (or WGerm.) origin, or English analogical formations. Cp. *hit sumorlæc(e)ð* above.

OE. hit cymð tō - - -, hit (ge)nēalæc(e)ð, 'it draws on towards - - -'.

See the similar phrases in subcategories a and b.

Group 3: Expressions denoting some specification of locality.

The very few Impersonalia appertaining to this semantic category: *hit cymð, hit *becymð*, and *hit *gegæð* (in combination with prepositional phrases), like those of Group 2, no doubt represent a comparatively much later mode of construction than those of the first group. The impersonal character of the phrase *hit *gegæð tō - - -* is uncertain. See ch. I, p. 38.

OE. hit cymð + a prepositional phrase, 'one arrives at'.

There are no examples extant in the non-Teut. languages of impersonal formations corresponding also as to etymology with this OE. Impersonale, as far as I have been able to ascertain. Identical, or at least kindred, ideas could be expressed by means of passive impersonal constructions in Greek, to judge from the following passage (from Thucydides 7:75): 'εἰς οἵαν ταπεινότητα ἀφῖκτο', lit. 'to what dejection it had been come'.[2]) In classical

[1]) Note that the phrases adduced in many cases refer rather to the phenomena of light and darkness dependent on the movements of the sun than to the time of the day. See *hit *dagað*, ch. I, p. 30.

[2]) The wording of the passage is, however, not incontestable, some editors altering the form *ἀφῖκτο* of the MS., as not recorded elsewhere, into the personal *ἀφίκατο*, 'they had come'.

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Latin, verbs of motion were frequently constructed impersonally and in the passive voice, as e. g. in the following quotation from the sixth book of the Æneid of Virgil, v. 179: 'itur in antiquam silvam'. (Cp. Wackernagel, o. c., p. 144 sq). Miklosisch, o. c., p. 60, adduces the expression *ventum est ad limen* as an example of a (classical?) Latin Impersonale. In the Latin versions of OE. landcharters, such passive impersonal phrases as *venitur, perveniatur, perveniendum est*, etc., are pretty frequent. For examples, v. ch. I, p. 36 sq. I have not had time and opportunity to ascertain whether the Latin impersonal passive forms occurring in the Anglo-Saxon charters, with the special import that characterizes them there, had exact equivalents in classical Latin. Cp. the phrase *ventum est ad limen* adduced above.

As regards the Teut. dialects, I have found but one instance that may be considered as indicating the occurrence also outside OE., of phrases of the aspect and import in question. This is the ON. impersonal expression *kemr þar at - - -*, 'there will be an opportunity - - -'. Cp., however, the OE. Impersonale *hit cymð tō - - -* implying some notion of time, Group 2, p. 170 sqq; cp. the expression *cymð tō bōte*, Group 6, p. 201. As pointed out already (l. c.), this latter signification is naturally secondary.

We are doubtless justified in drawing the inference that the ON. and OE. phrases in question, with a local or a temporal signification, are the representatives in the respective languages of a common Teutonic constructive type, corresponding to the Latin passive Impersonalia.

The OE. phrases of the aspect *hit cymð tō + a prepositional phrase*, occurring in the landcharters, which expressions we have assumed to be in many cases impersonal, appear to have developed out of personal expressions. See ch. I, p. 36 sqq.

OE. hit *becymð tō - - -, 'one reaches - - -'.

This OE. Impersonale appears to have had no etymologically identical counterparts in other Teutonic languages. As in the case of so many other OE. impersonal expressions, we cannot, however, base any certain conclusions on the negative results obtained by consulting dictionaries, etc. Cp. the phrase *(hit) (be)cymð him tō ādle*, Group 6, p. 201.

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OE. hit *gegæð to - - -.

The identical remarks adduced with reference to *hit *becymð tō - - -*, apply also to the OE. phrase *hit *gegæð tō - - -*, if this is really an Impersonale with the signification 'one goes, proceeds to - - -', an assumption which appears very uncertain. Cp. ch. I, p. 38.

Parallel with the Teutonic impersonal expressions in the active voice represented by OE. *hit cymð*, ON. *kemr*, run passive formations like those met with in classical Latin (*itur*, etc.), such as ON. *verðr gengit* ('varð heldr síð gengit til hámessu', 'one, they, went rather late to high mass'; quoted from Fritzner), and MHG. *wirt gegangen* ('besunder wart gegangen in eine kemenaten', 'one, they, went singly to a woman's apartment'; quoted from Brugmann *Ursprung*, p. 29). No examples of this type occur in OE.

Group 4: Expressions denoting physical and mental affections.

Preliminary remarks.

Before discussing the provenance of the individual Impersonalia, some general remarks should be premised here, which apply to a great many of the impersonal expressions of this semantic category, as well as to some belonging to Groups 5 and 6. Cp. ch. I, p. 38 sqq.

As pointed out already (ch. I, l. c.), one feature characteristic of a large number of Impersonalia appertaining to the semantic categories mentioned, is that they often occur in combination with *a (pro)noun* in the *accus.* (or *dat.*), denoting *the person* whom the affection, etc., stimulates. Another distinctive mark which characterizes not a few of these verbs, is that they take a *genit. rei* indicating *the irritant stimulus, the cause of the verbal action*, or, if we so will, *the thing, etc., in respect of which the verbal action is true.* In other cases, this semantic function is discharged by *a prepositional phrase.* For examples, see ch. I, l. c. See also present chapter, p. 172 sq.

OE. impersonal expressions such as e. g. *hine cælð, hine lys* (+ *genit. rei*), which may be taken as typical instances, in many cases had counterparts in Greek or Latin, or in other Teut. dia-

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lects. The Impersonalia of this type, in Greek and Latin represented by e. g. *μεταμέλει μοι τοῦ πεπραγμένου, poenitet me facti,* doubtless display a primitive mode of conception, inherited from Parent Aryan times. According to this assumed primitive notion, the person feeling is struck by the action implied in the verb. To quote the words of Fay, o. c., § 4: 'In fact, *me huius poenitet,* and *μοι τούτου μεταμέλει* seem to reflect an IE. locution which expressed the person feeling in the accusative or dative; the source of the feeling in the genitive; while the feeling itself is expressed in a transitive, but impersonal, verb, depicting the activity of the stimulus.' On the other hand, 'when we say e. g. *pudeo* (instead of *me pudet*), we state how the subject reacts from the striking stimulus.' (Fay, o. c., § 5). See Brugmann, *Syntax,* § 17; Fay, o. c., §§ 3 sqq; van Wijk, o. c., § 114 sqq. There is doubtless every probability that the habit of thought displayed by the constructive type *me pudet* is more primary than the one expressed by *pudeo.* Cp. the transition from e. g. OE. *mec hrīewð* to ME. *ich reowe.* (See v. der Gaaf, o. c., § 63).

As to the difference in case of the (pro)nouns as exemplified by Greek *μεταμέλει μοι,* and Latin *me poenitet,* we need not, according to Fay (o. c., § 5,) 'attribute overmuch import' to this fact. 'In *me poenitet,* the stimulus originally produced its irritation on the person feeling. In *μοι μεταμέλει,* likewise, the stimulus acted on *μοι,* which is a dative of aim-and reach, the dative of contact'. Cp. Brugmann, *Syntax* § 17. The words of Fay seem to imply that he considers the construction *dat. pers.* to be of the same age as the *accus. pers.* It is a fact, though, that the latter construction bears the impress of being the older formation. Cp. the account given in the following of the individual OE. Impersonalia of this description, as compared with their equivalents in other languages. We may point out the circumstance, too, that in OE. poetry, and in those prose texts which display on the whole a more ancient structure than the others, constructions of the type: *hine lyst* prevail, almost exclusively, over the type: *him lyst.* We are doubtless justified in assuming in many cases a transition from an original *accus. personæ* to a *dat. personæ.* This structural change, from *hine lyst* to *him lyst,* involves an alteration, too, in the predicational aspect. Thus from the outset, and still to OE.

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linguistic instinct, *hine lyst* no doubt meant: 'a desire takes hold of him', and represents a predication of *action*, while *him lyst* implied: 'a desire is at hand, or comes into existence, for him', i. e. constitutes a predication of *existence*. Cp. Sundén, *Essay I*, p. 54, sq.

It has been mentioned above that the member of the sentence which denotes the cause of the affection in question, when given, very often takes the shape of a *genitive*. With some verbs of the present semantic group it sometimes appears in the form of a *nomin. rei*, in the capacity of a subject. (For examples, v. ch. I, Group 4). There is no doubt as regards the very ancient origin of the structural type: *hine lyst* + *genit. rei*, since this genitive is recorded both in Greek, Latin, and the Teutonic dialects. For examples, v. the discussion of the individualOE. Impersonalia, p. 177 sqq. The genitive by verbs such as the present is held by Brugmann, *Syntax* § 17, to be older, probably, than the nomin. rei. According to the same authority (l. c.), it is hard to say what should be considered as the primary function of this genitive. Speaking of the Latin impersonal phrases *pudet, piget, poenitet, tædet, miseret* and *miseretur*, he says: 'Welcher Klasse von den verschiedenen Gebrauchsweisen des Genitivs (GR 2, 2, 565 ff.) man diesen Genitivgebrauch am besten anschliesst, ist schwer zu sagen. Delbrück, *Vergleich. Syntax* 3, 32, vermutet, bei *miseret tui* habe etwas wie *misericordia tui* vorgeschwebt, und vielleicht sei der Genitiv zuerst bei Personen entstanden. Besser, wie es scheint, lässt ihn B. Raabe, *De gen. Latino*, (Königsberg 1917) p. 64, dem Genitiv bei den verba cupiendi (GR 2, 2, 593) am nächsten stehen (vgl. oben *μέλει μοί τινος*). Auch kommt der Genitiv des Sachbetreffs (GR 2, 2, 576 ff.) in Betracht. Jedenfalls war der Genitiv bei diesen Verba sehr alt (vgl. das Griech. und das Germ.) und wahrscheinlich älter als der Nominativ der Sache'.

Whatever was the import, or the shades of meaning, attached to this genit. rei, from an OE. or a still more ancient point of view, it has seemed admissible and suitable here, to describe its function as a *relatio respiciendi*. This applies not only to the genit. rei occurring in combination with OE. impersonal expressions that correspond as to sense to the Latin phrases adduced by Brugmann, but to the genit. rei used with other OE. Impersonalia such as e. g. *hine* (*him*) *(ge)twēoð*, *hine* (*ge*)*wierð* (v. pp. 198 and 205, below).

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As to the constructive type *hine onhagaþ + a prepositional phrase*, see p. 182.

Brugmann, *Syntax* § 17, points out that, although the impersonal use of verbs denoting physical or mental affections is doubtless of Parent Aryan origin, there are hardly any instances met with of impersonal verbs corresponding with each other also in respect of etymology, in both the non-Teut. and the Teut., IE. languages. Cp. on the other hand e. g. OE. *hit snīwð*, 'it snows'. (Group 1: *Natural phen.*), which Impersonale has equivalents both as regards etymology, construction and import in OBactrian, Greek and Latin, and in ON., OE. and OHG. (v. p. 20).

After these precursory remarks, let us now turn our attention to the separate OE. Impersonalia appertaining to Group 4.

Subcategory a: *Physical affections.*

Here belong the following impersonal expressions: *hine (him) cælð, him *swiercð, hit *turneð abūtan his hēafod, hine (him) *æc(e)ð, him sūgeð, hine (him) hyngreð, -að*, and *hine (him) þyrst(eð)*.

As mentioned already in ch. I, p. 41, the impersonal nature of the phrase *hine (him) *æc(e)þ* is doubtful.

OE. hine (him) cælð, 'cold takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he is cold').

The notion implied in this OE. Impersonale was in Greek and Latin expressed by means of personal constructions such as: *ῥιγῶ, algeo*, 'I am cold'. Cp. Lat. *gelo*, 'I become rigid with cold', belonging to the same IE. verbal root as the OE. verb.

ON. has the entirely congruent phrase *mik kelr*, as well as the semantically related impersonal formations: *mér kólnar* (from ultimately the same root), 'I begin to feel cold', *mik frýs*, 'I am cold', *mér svalar*, 'I become chilly', *mér hitnar, mér ornar*, 'I grow warm'. In MHG. we encounter the impersonal *mih friuset*, 'I am cold'.

These facts, as far as they go, evidently suggest the inference that the impersonal structure of phrases with the present import

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is an exclusively Teutonic peculiarity. I am of course fully aware that in this, as well as in a great many other cases, a common Parent Aryan origin is quite possible, and in this instance even probable, albeit the classical languages, apparently, have no examples of such a construction. The Impersonale under discussion no doubt appertains to the very old class of expressions in which a presumably more primitive notion to the effect that something in the exterior world causes in us the sensation in question, is salient. Cp. p. 174 sqq. Another mode of conception, according to which it is *we* who feel, prevails in the phrases adduced from the classical languages. The doubtless more original habit of thought represented by OE. *hine cælð*, may have had to give way to the personal conception (*:algeo*) at an earlier date in the more advanced classical languages than in the Teutonic dialects.

However this may be, the OE. impersonal phrase *hine cælð* doubtless had its prototype in Prim. Teutonic, to judge from ON. *hann kelr*, 'he is cold.'

OE. him *swiercð, 'darkness falls upon him, his eyes grow dim'.

With regard to this impersonal phrase, nothing can be said with certainty as to its history, since there are no examples on record, as it appears, of an impersonal use of verbs of similar import, either in the non-Teut., or the Teut., cognate languages. The etymologically corresponding verbs met with in OS. and OHG. (v. ch., I, p. 40) are annotated as personal, only, in dictionaries.

OE. hit *turneð abūtan his hēafod, 'he feels giddy'.

As mentioned in ch. I, p. 41, there is one instance recorded, only, of this OE. Impersonale. We may doubtless consider it as an exclusively OE. mode of rendering the idea in question, since there appear to be no examples on record in other Teut. dialects of the same loan-word as an Impersonale. Cp. other verbs with related imports and constructed impersonally: ON. *mik sundlar, swimrar*, 'I become giddy', *mik úmættir*, 'I become faint', OHG.

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mir swintilôt, 'I turn giddy', *mir giswintit, unmahtet*, 'I become faint'.

The impersonal mode of phrasing notions such as these is manifestly common Teut. property, if not older still. I have found no indications, however, of an existence in Greek and Latin, etc., of such impersonal expressions.

OE. hine (him) *æc(e)ð.

We have said in ch. I, p. 41, that the one instance found of the verb *acan*, 'to ache', in a construction which might possibly be considered as impersonal, is probably not so. No examples occur of etymologically corresponding verbs in the other Teut. dialects, whether in the shape of Impersonalia or otherwise. There are clear indications, though, of the existence in Teut. languages of the impersonal manner of rendering cognate notions. Thus we find e. g. ON. *mér klæjar*, 'I itch', and OHG. *mih iucchit*, of the same import.

OE. him sūgeð.[1])

The one instance recorded of the impersonal expression *him sūgeð* seems to have had no equivalents in the non-Teut. languages.

Nor are there, with the exception of OE. *sūgan*, any examples annotated in dictionaries, etc., of descendants of the Prim. Teut. verb **sūγan* as impersonal verbs. However, the occurrence in these languages of (distantly) related impersonal expressions, such as OHG. *mir willôt, mih chelôt*, 'I feel sick', and others, plainly indicates a general tendency in the Teutonic dialects to express similar sensorial affections by means of impersonal constructions. As to OE. *him sūgeð* in particular, the adduced facts can tell us nothing with certainty about its history.

OE. hine (him) hyngreð, -að, 'hunger takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he is hungry'); hine (him) þyrst(eð), 'thirst takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he is thirsty').

As regards these Impersonalia, which may aptly be considered together, there would seem to be only personal constructions

[1]) For the signification of this expression, v. ch. I, p. 42.

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met with in the non-Teutonic languages, corresponding in respect of import to the OE. impersonal phrases. Thus Sanskr. *tíšyati*, 'thirsts', from ultimately the same root (IE. **tṛ̥s-*) as the OE. verb *þyrstan*, is not mentioned as an Impersonale by my authorities. Greek *πεινῆν*, *διψῆν*, and Lat. *esurire*, *sitire*, 'to feel hunger, thirst', are constructed personally, only.

In the Teutonic dialects, on the other hand, the impersonal formations are common property: Gothic *mik huggreiþ* and *mik grēdōþ*, *mik þaúrseiþ*; ON. *mik hungrar*, *mik þyrstir*, OHG. *mih hung(i)rit*, *mih durstit*, all = 'I am hungry' or 'thirsty', respectively.

What are the conclusions we can draw from these facts? Evidently we can say nothing for certain with regard to a possible, and probable, pre-Teutonic existence of such Impersonalia. Cp. Fay, o. c., § 2 sqq.

The history of the two Impersonalia in the Teutonic linguistic branch is clearer, no doubt. As regards OE. *hine* (*him*) *hyngreð*, the existence of the Gothic equivalent *mik huggreiþ*, tallying in all respects with the OE. Impersonale, as well as of Gothic *mik grēdōþ*, which differs as to etymology only, and of ON. *mik hungrar*, OHG. *mih hungirit*, from ultimately the same root as the OE. verb, though belonging to other classes of weak verbs, to all appearance indicates that in Prim. Teutonic there occurred prototypes of all these impersonal formations. of which some are recorded in Gothic, or Gothic and OE., only, while others are exclusively ON., etc. Consequently, we have come to the conclusion that in Prim. Teutonic it was usual to express the notion in question by means of impersonal denominative verbs. Cp. e. g. the personal Greek version of Romans, ch. XII, v. 20: '*ἐὰν οὖν πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρός σου, ψώμιζε αὐτόν ἐὰν διψᾷ πότιζε αὐτόν*', with the Gothic rendering: 'jabai gredo fijand þeinana, mat gif imma; iþ jabai þaursjai, dragkei ina.'

As hinted above, the probability is that these Teut. Impersonalia had an older prototype on the analogy of which they were formed, although its existence cannot be proved.

The existing Teutonic equivalents of OE. *hine þyrsteð* plainly show that the impersonal manner of constructing sentences of this import was common Teutonic. OE. *þyrstan*, ON. *þyrsta*, and

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OHG. *dursten*, are all of them denominative formations from, ultimately, Prim. Teut. **þursta-*, Goth. *þaúrsti*, ON. *þorsti*, 'thirst'. We thus have to assume a Prim. Teut. denominative verb **þurstjan*, parallel to **hungrjan*. Besides this verb, there must have existed the Prim. Teut. verb **þursjan*, from the verbal base **þurs-*, whence Gothic *þaúrsjan*. The third person sg., present tense, Gothic *þaúrseiþ*, had an exact counterpart in Sanskr. *tṛ̥ṣyati* (v. ch. I, p. 43). It is admissible, undoubtedly, to surmise that this Gothic impersonal phrase *mik þaúrseiþ* is the representative in that language of a very old Impersonale, formed on the IE. verbal root **tṛ̥s-*, and extant in Parent Aryan already, although the impersonal mode of construction happens not to be recorded, or had fallen into disuse, in the cognate non-Teutonic languages.

Some instances met with of OE. *hine* (*him*) *þyrsteð* + *genit. rei* or *a prepositional phrase*, with the metaphorical import 'he thirsts for - - -', have been given in ch. I, p. 44. As examples the following may suffice in this connection:

Ðeah ðæt folc ðyrste ðære lare, - - -. Past. Care 30:7. — Þyrst sawle mine to Gode þam lyfgyndan. Cambr. Psalter, p. 101.

We can hardly doubt that the types of construction represented by these OE. phrases were common Teutonic property, although there would seem to be but rare indications extant of their existence in other Teutonic languages. I have found one instance, only, viz. the ON. expression *mik þyrstir til* (+ *genit. rei*), 'I thirst for - - -.' These, and similar, OE. and ON. phrases were probably formed on the analogy of semantically cognate prototypes of OE. and ON. impersonal expressions such as *hine lyst* + *genit. rei*, *hine onhagaþ tō* (+ *dat. rei*), and *e-n langar til* + *genit. rei*). Note the construction of the Latin version of the passage quoted from the Cambridge Psalter: 'Sitivit anima mea ad deum vivum'. This is, however, a personal construction. In Greek and classical Latin we find the personal verbs *ἐπι-θυμεῖν* + *genit. rei*, *sitire* + *accus. rei*.

As examples of impersonal phrases, from other Teutonic dialects, belonging to the present semantic category, but lacking semantically exact counterparts in OE., the following may be adduced: ON. *mér blöskrar*, 'I wink', *setr grát at mér*, 'I burst out

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crying', *mik (mér) höfgar, mik syfjar*, 'I grow sleepy', *mik þrýtr*, 'I grow tired', and many others; OHG. *mih slâphôt, mih slâferôt*, 'I feel sleepy'. The impersonal constructive type in respect of verbs denoting physical affections is obviously a common Teut. feature.

Subcategory b: *Mental affections.*

The following are the Impersonalia belonging to this numerically fairly comprehensive group.

Subsection *a*, personal mental affections: *hine (him) onhagað, him (ge)līcað, him gelustfullað* (uncertain Impersonale), *hine. (him) (ge)lyst(eð), hine rēc(e)ð; hit him *hefigað* (uncertain Impersonale), *hine (him) *(ge)hrīewð, hine *hrēowsað* (uncertain Impersonale), *hine langað, hine lengað, hine (him) (ge)scamað, hine *forscamað, hine (ă)þrīet*, and *him ofþync(e)ð.*

Subsection *β*, sympathetic affections: *him gebyreð, him *(of)earmað*, and *him ofhrīewð.*

The majority of these Impersonalia unmistakably bears the stamp of great antiquity, being at least of Prim. Teut., if not older, origin. Several of them occur in combination with a *genit. rei* or *a prepositional phrase*. It has been pointed out (p. 174 sq.) that the existing type *hine (him) lyst* + *genit. rei* had counterparts in Greek and Latin, e. g. *μεταμέλει μοι, poenitet me*, + *genit. rei*. With these impersonal constructions we should compare ON. *mik iðrar* and OE. *mec hrīewð*, both constructed with genit. rei and, like their Greek and Latin equivalents, implying 'I repent of - - -'. Cp. also early NHG. *mich reut dessen*, 'I repent of this'. It has been indicated also (l. c.) that these facts no doubt point to the conclusion that the type: *hine (him) lyst* + *genit. rei* represents a common Aryan mode of construction. As to the constructive type: *hine (him) onhagað* + *a prepositional phrase* (*tō* + *dat. rei, tō* + *an inflected infinitive*) on the other hand, it unmistakably bears the impress of being considerably younger, although met with also in other Teut. dialects. The prepositional phrases, OE. *tō*, ON. *til*, etc., + a (pro)noun, may have come to be used in the place of an older genitive (*genit. respiciendi*), in order to render the notion of *direction*, in a figurative sense,

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implied in at least some of the verbs in question. Note, however, that OE. *(ge)lystan*, contrary to expectation, does not show this development. Cp. ON. *lystir e-n til e-s*, 'someone desires something'.

It has been shown in ch. I, section B, p. 115 sqq., that there are cases in OE. of *gerundial forms* in conjunction with verbs that do not appear to have ever occurred in combination with a prepositional phrase of the type: *to* + *dat. rei*, and that in spite of this fact, a *gerundial function* implying *direction* is not precluded. There is of course hardly any reason for assuming that such formations were not extant in the other Teut. dialects, too, and, consequently, not an OE. innovation.

ubsection a.

OE. hine (him) onhagað, 'inclination (satisfaction) takes hold of (exists for) him' -'he feels inclined, is contented').

The notion implied by this OE. impersonal phrase was expressed by means of personal constructions both in Greek and Latin, as it appears. And the verbs used are etymologically unrelated to the OE. verb. Cp. the examples of semantically corresponding Greek and Latin expressions adduced under OE. *him (ge)līcað*, below.

The OFris. verb *hagia*, of the same origin as the OE. verb, is recorded in impersonal phrases such as: - - -, *ther him best hagie*, 'where he is best pleased'. As to MHG. *behagen*, 'to please', of an identical derivation, this verb is not annotated as an Impersonale by dictionaries. There is hardly any doubt, however, that impersonal expressions of the type adduced from OFris., were not used in all the Teut. languages, in so far as the verbs themselves were extant.

With regard to OE. *hine (him) onhagaþ tō* - - -, 'he feels inclined towards - - -', + a (pro)noun or an inflected infinitive, no absolutely corresponding formations seem to exist in the cognate Teut. dialects. Consequently, we cannot know for certain whether the phrase is solely OE. or not. We may compare ON. *e-n fýsir, hugnar, langar, lystir, slœgir, til e-s*, 'someone desires, longs for, something'; *e-n líkar vel til e-s*, 'somebody likes something'.

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Cp. also the OE. verbs *gehagian* and *onhagian* in impersonal use, in phrases of the same aspect, but belonging to another semantic category (Group 6 b:expressions referring to *the state of things*; v. p. 209 below), from which constructions those under discussion cannot easily be kept apart, particularly as it is often hard to decide which signification is the one meant to be implied.

As to the genesis of constructions of the aspect: *hine* (*him*) *onhagað* + *an infinitive* (pure or inflected), v. section B, 215 p., and cp. ch. I, section B, p. 113.

OE. him (ge)līcað, 'pleasure is at hand for him' (= 'he is pleased, he likes').

No examples of absolute equivalents to this OE. impersonal expression are to be found in the cognate non-Teut. languages. Semantical counterparts were naturally not lacking. Cp. impersonal phrases such as Latin *ut libet*, 'as you please'. In Greek and classical Latin the idea expressed by OE. *him* (*ge*)*līcað* + *a prepositional phrase* was rendered personally, according to my authorities. Thus we find e. g. *παρέχει τί μοι ἡδονήν*, *aliquid libet*, *placet mihi*, 'something pleases me', or: *ἥδομαί τινι*, 'I take pleasure in something'. The last-mentioned type of personal construction is also met with in the Greek New Testament, where we find (passim) the phrase: *εὐδοκῶ ἐν* - - -. Note, however, that in the Latin original of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels there occur impersonal constructions such as: 'in quo bene complacuit animæ meæ'. (Gosp. Matth., ch. XII, v. 18), interchanging with personal expressions of the following type: 'in quo mihi complacui'. (Gosp. Matth., ch. III, v. 17).

In the Teut. dialects, the different verbs ultimately derived from the same Prim. Teut. nominal base (**līka*-) as OE. (*ge*)*līcian*, are all met with in impersonal use. Cp. ON. phrases of the type: *e-m líkar vel við e-t*, *til e-s*, 'someone likes something, somebody', and similar expressions occurring in Gothic and OHG., as exemplified by sentences such as the following: 'mis galeikaiþ in - - -', 'I take pleasure in - - -' (II Corinth. XII:10); 'in thir gilicheta mir', 'in te complacuit mihi' (Gospel of St. Mark, I, 10). Cp. also semantically corresponding impersonal phrases contain-

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ing verbs from other roots, such as ON. *e-m gezt at e-u*, 'someone is satisfied with something', *e-m hugnar vel, illa, við e-n, til e-s*, 'somebody likes someone', etc.; OHG. *mih niotôt + genit. rei*, 'me delectat' (: 'sines obezes nietet mih'; quoted from Grimm IV, p. 272). The occurrence of the prototypes of *(ge)līcian*, etc., as Impersonalia is evidently a common Teutonic feature.

Inasmuch as the OE. phrases of the type *him (ge)līcað on* --- are extant in such texts, only, the language of which may be suspected of having been influenced by (post-classical) Latin musters (e. g. the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, homilies, etc.), the assumption of a direct imitation of constructions such as: 'in quo bene complacuit animæ meæ' (Vulgate, Gosp. Matth., ch. XII, v. 18), does not appear unwarrantable. The Corpus MS. of this passage reads as follows: 'Her is min cnapa þone ic geceas min gecorena on þam wel gelicode minre sawle'.

There is, however, one circumstance that would seem to render this supposition, certainly not untenable, but somewhat doubtful. This is the fact that the impersonal mode of construction in the case of the descendants of Prim. Teut. **līkēn*, etc., appears to be characteristic of the Teut. dialects as compared with Greek and classical Latin, to judge from the Gothic impersonal rendering: 'mis galeikaiþ in ---', of the Greek original: 'εὐδοκῶ ἐν ---' (II Corinth., ch. XII, v. 10). The ON. impersonal phrase *e-m líkar vel við e-t, til e-s*, points to the same conclusion, since this expression, according to Fritzner, occurs in texts that, to my knowledge, cannot have been influenced by literary Latin musters, to wit some of the Icelandic sagas (Ljósvetninga Saga, etc.). On the other hand, there can be no doubt about the construction met with e. g. in the Gospel of St. Luke, ch. X, v. 21, Corp. and Li.: 'Forþam hit beforan þe swa gelicode', being a word for word rendering of the Latin version: 'Quoniam sic placuit ante te'. The same is true, perhaps, with regard to the OHG. rendering: 'in thir gilicheta mir', of Mark I, v. 10. Cp. the Latin version: 'in te complacuit mihi'.

As hinted above, there are no examples extant of the type *him (ge)līcað on* --- in the older, poetical texts presumably uninfluenced by any foreign patterns. Here we find personal constructions, only. For an example of the constructive type:

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þing (ge)līcað him, v. ch. I, p. 47. It should be noted that, beside impersonal formations, also personal constructions of the above aspect occur in all the Teutonic dialects mentioned.

OE. him gelustfullað.

With regard to this expression, if really an Impersonale, with the sense 'he rejoices', an assumption which seems very doubtful (v. ch. I, p. 47), we can say nothing as to its history, for want of examples of similar formations in other, cognate languages. The morphological aspect of the verb does not, perhaps, preclude the possibility of a pre-English existence of this phrase.

OE. hine (him) (ge)lyst(eð), 'inclination (desire) takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he desires', etc.).

The notion implied in OE. *hine (him) (ge)lyst(eð)* appears to have been expressed by means of personal constructions, only, in the cognate non-Teut. languages. Thus e. g. the etymologically related Sanskrit phrase *laṣati* is a personal expression, meaning 'he, etc., asks for'. Latin *libet*, with the import 'he (etc.), desires', was, according to dictionaries, constructed with a pronoun or an infinitive for its subject.

In Gothic we find the verb *lustōn*, cognate as to derivation with OE. *lystan*, in personal use, presumably in imitation of the personal Greek verb of the one passage where the Gothic verb occurs, the Gospel of St. Matthew, ch. V, v. 28. The thing coveted is expressed by a noun in the genitive, both in the Greek and in the Gothic text. From an identical Prim. Teut. nominal base (v. ch. I, p. 48), but used as Impersonalia, are ON. *lysta*: *e-n lystir til e-s, í e-t*, 'someone desires something' (:'sakir þess, at henni sýnist ek svá fagr, þa lystir hana til mín'; 'mik lysti í hring þenna'; quoted from Fritzner); OHG. *lusten*, and OS. *lustean*, of the same import. The two last-mentioned verbs, like OE. *(ge)lystan*, are constructed in the following manner: *mih lustit*, etc., + *genit. rei*. (OHG.: 'den des libes luste'; quoted from Grimm IV, p. 271).

The impersonal mode of formation, in OE. represented by e phrase: *hine lyst* + *genit. rei*, may be a Teutonic creation,

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shaped on the analogy of the extant, presumably Aryan, constructions of the same type (*poenitet me* + *genit. rei*, etc.; v. introductory remarks to the present semantic category, p. 174 sqq.). However, nothing seems to hinder us from assuming that the identical idea implied in *hine lyst* (+ *genit. rei*) could be expressed impersonally in Parent Aryan times already; and this, indeed, appears very probable, although, apparently at least, indications of such a usage are lacking in Greek and Latin, etc.

As to the genesis of extant constructions of the aspect: *hine* (*him*) *lyst* + *an infinitive* or *a dependent clause*, see section B, p. 215, and cp. ch. I, section B, pp. 116 and 128.

OE. hine rēc(e)ð, 'care, desire, takes hold of him' (= 'he cares, desires').

With regard to this Impersonale, occurring in combination with a noun in the genitive, denoting the irritant stimulus, there are next to no indications of an identical construction in other languages. The ON. verb *rækja*, 'to care for, consider', of the same origin as the OE. verb, is used personally only, according to Fritzner. On the other hand, the corresponding MHG. verb *ruochen*, of similar import, sometimes occurs as an Impersonale, in conjunction with accus. personæ, genit. rei. We may safely infer, no doubt, that the impersonal structure was, if not a common Teutonic, at least a common W Germanic feature. Cp. the discussion on other Impersonalia constructed in the same manner.

OE. hit him *hefigað.[1])

This expression, the impersonal character of which is very uncertain, appears to have had no equivalents, whether absolute or otherwise, in any cognate language, except some semantically more or less distantly related phrases such as ON. *ekr hart at mér*, 'I am hard pressed', and OHG. *mir angêt*, 'coartor'. On these facts, of course, no suppositions concerning the origin of a possibly existing OE. impersonal phrase *hit him *hefigað* can be founded.

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[1]) For the signification of this phrase, if really an Impersonale, see ch. I, p. 50.

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OE. hine (him) *(ge)hrīewð, 'repentance takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he repents').

The notion implied by this Impersonale, used absolutely or with a genit. rei denoting the emotional stimulus, was rendered impersonally or personally in Greek, as well as in Latin. Thus we find the impersonal expressions: *μεταμέλει μοι*, used absolutely or with *genit. rei*, *poenitet*, *piget*, *me* + *genit. rei*, and personal expressions of the two types: *thing causes repentance, regret, in a person* (dat. or accus.), and *I repent, regret.* The former personal constructive type is rare in Greek. As an example: *'τῷ 'Αρίστωνι μετέμελε τὸ εἰρημένον'*. (Quoted from Liddell and Scott). In Latin we find expressions of the following aspect: *res poenitet me, res dolet mihi.* The second type of personal construction is represented by phrases such as *μεταμέλομαι*, *doleo.*

In the Gothic Bible there occurs the verb *idreigōn*, of the same import as the OE. verb, but used in personal constructions (in imitation, perhaps, of the corresponding personal Greek formations met with in the identical Bible passages). Likewise, the ON. verb *angra*, is constructed personally, either thus: *þat angrar mik* (*mér*), 'that causes me annoyance, trouble', or in the following manner: *ek angrar* + *accus. rei*, 'I am anxious, distressed, about something'. There are, however, examples of this verb as an Impersonale, too, used absolutely: *mik angrar*, 'I am anxious'. Further, we find the impersonal expression *mik iðrar* (according to Feist, the ON. verb *iðra* is hardly cognate with Gothic *idreigōn*, as to etymology) + *genit. rei*, 'I repent of - - -'. The verb *iðra* occurs as a personal verb, too: *þat iðrar mik*, 'that makes me repent'. As to OHG. and MHG. *hriuwan, riuwen*, from the same verbal base as the OE. verb, they are not recorded as Impersonalia. It should be noted, however, that in early NHG. the verb *reuen* (OHG. *hriuwan*) is also met with as an Impersonale: *es reut mich* (+ *genit. rei*, or *über* - - -), 'I repent (of - - -)'.

We have thus to annotate three types of constructions with verbs of this import in the languages mentioned, two personal and one impersonal. Possibly, all three ran parallel from an early epoch, although accidentally not recorded in the separate

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languages. It seems quite justifiable, though, to suppose that the impersonal type is the oldest of the three. Cp. the introductory remarks to the present semantic group, p. 174 sqq. If, as appears probable, we are justified in assuming a common Parent Aryan prototype of OE. *hine hrīewð* (*þæs*), we must suppose this type to have become lost in some languages, or partially supplanted by the presumably younger personal expressions. Cp. the development: OE. *hine hrīewð* — NE. *he rues*. See v. der Gaaf, o. c., § 63.

As to the genesis of the constructive type on record: *hine* (*him*) **(ge)hrīewð* in conjunction with a dependent clause, v. section B, p. 215, and ch. I, section B, p. 130 sq.

OE. hine *hrēowsað.

It has been pointed out in ch. I, p. 51, that the existence in OE. of an impersonal expression of the above aspect and with the signification 'he repents, grieves', is very questionable. For the usual construction of the verb *hrēowsian*, see p. 51. The occurrence of this verb as an Impersonale, if a fact, must be due to the analogy of *hine* **(ge)hrīewð*, of similar import (v. above), or to that of the impersonal phrases met with in the Latin original of the passages where it occurs. As pointed out in ch. I, l. c., *hrēowsian* is not found outside English.

OE. hine langað, 'longing (discontent) takes hold of him' (= 'he longs', etc.).

The cognate non-Teutonic languages show no indications, as it appears, of an impersonal use of verbs with the import of OE. *langian*, 'to long'.

The OE. phrases of the type: *hine langôð*, 'his thoughts go longingly back, or forward', etc., have exact counterparts in the Teutonic dialects. Thus we find ON. *langar*, OS. *langôt*, + *accus. personæ*. Cp. ON. *e-m lengist*, 'someone is bored', < *lengja* (= OE. *lengan*). As to OE. *hine langað* + *genit. rei*, 'he longs for - - -', we find the following parallel construction in OHG.: *langêt, bilangêt, gilangêt, niotôt* (cp. p. 185), + *accus. personæ, genit. rei* (: 'dia des erbes langet'; quoted from Grimm IV, p. 272). Lastly, OE.

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hine langað + a prepositional phrase, 'he longs for - - -', entirely coincides as to structure with ON. *e-n langar, fýsir*, etc., *til* (*e-s*).

The impersonal mode of construction is clearly of common Teutonic origin. Doubtless, the genit. rei, denoting the cause of the affection, is older with this verb, too, than prepositional phrases with the same function, although the former type happens to be recorded in the WGerm. dialects, only. (v. p. 182 above).

As to the genesis of extant constructions consisting of the phrase *hine langað* in conjunction with a subordinate clause, v. section B, p. 215, and ch. I, section B, p. 127.

OE. hine lengað, 'longing takes hold of him' (= 'he longs').

This impersonal expression stands quite isolated, as it appears. As pointed out in ch. I, p. 53, the verb *lengian* is not recorded outside English. To judge from the i-umlauted stem-vowel, the verb must have existed at least in pre-historic OE. The circumstance that it is not met with in other Teutonic dialects, cannot of course be said to prove effectually that it is of exclusively OE. growth.

OE. hine (him) (ge)scamað, 'shame takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he is ashamed').

With reference to the earlier history of OE. *hine* (*him*) (*ge-*) *scamað*, the same observations are valid as in the case of *hine* (*him*) **(ge)hrīewð* (v. p. 188 sq.), viz. that it seems most rational to suppose the impersonal type of verbs of this import to be the more primitive one, which was, at least partially, supplanted by personal constructions. Thus in Greek the idea implied was rendered personally: *αἰσχύνομαι* - - -, 'I am ashamed - - -', *αἰσχύνη λαμβάνει με*, 'a feeling of shame takes hold of me'; in Latin, either impersonally: *pudet + accus. personæ, genit. rei*, or personally: *res pudet + accus. personæ*.

In Gothic we find the personal (reflexive) verb *skaman sik* in conjunction with genit. rei. Note that the Gothic version of the passage from the Gospel of St. Mark, ch. VIII, v. 38, does not entirely coincide as to structure with the Greek original. In both cases,

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however, the construction is personal. The two versions read as follows: '*Ὅς γὰρ ἂν ἐπαισχυνθῇ με - - -*', and 'Unte saei skamaiþ sik meina - - -'. This fact would seem to indicate that the Gothic personal construction in question is vernacular. In ON. and OHG. there occur the personal (reflexive) verbs *skamast, scamôn, -ên sih, mîdan sih*, respectively, + *genit. rei*, all = 'to be ashamedof - - -'.

If our assumption concerning the relative age of these impersonal and personal constructions is true, which seems hardly questionable in view of the existence of many other Impersonalia of the same type belonging to *verba affectuum*, of probably high antiquity, then it appears that only Latin and OE. retain examples of the assumed older usage, probably extant in Parent Aryan already. This fact is no doubt due to mere chance. As mentioned above, we feel inclined to suppose that from an early date, an older impersonal and younger personal types came to be used side by side, of which the impersonal one happens not to be recorded in some languages, or else had died out there. As mentioned in ch. I, p. 54, there are examples, too, of *(ge)scamian* with a nomin. personæ for its subject.

As to the genesis of the extant constructive types: *hine (him) (ge)scamaþ + an infinitive*, and *hine (him) (ge)scamaþ + a dependent clause*, v. section B, p. 215, and ch. I, section B, p. 117 sq., p. 128 sq.

OE. hine *forscamað, 'shame takes hold of him' (= 'he is ashamed').

The same remarks as in the case of the simple verb *(ge)scamian* (v. above) hold good undoubtedly with regard to the prefixally derived OE. impersonal verb *forscamian*, too. Cp. the personal MHG. verb *verschamen*, also intransitive = 'to be ashamed'.

As to the genesis of the extant constructive type: *hine *forscamaþ þæt - - -*, v. section B, p. 215, and ch. I, section B, p. 130.

OE. hine (ă)þrīet, 'weariness, etc., takes hold of him' (= 'he wearies, finds irksome').

We find in Greek e. g. the following semantic counterparts, all of them personal constructions: *κόρος τινός λαμβάνει με*, 'an aversion to something takes hold of me,' *παρέχει τι κόρον μοι*,

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'something causes in me feelings of aversion', ἀγαναχτῶ, ὀργίζομαι, + *genit.* (*dat*). *rei*, or *a prepositional phrase*, 'I resent something'. The Greek versions of verse 6, ch. XIV, Gospel of St. Mark, and of verse 5, ch. XVIII, Gospel of St. Luke, the Gothic rendering of which makes use of the verb *usþriutan* (for the construction of this verb, v. below), show personal constructions, too. In Latin, on the other hand, we find the impersonal *tædet, piget*, constructed, like the OE. Impersonale, with accus. personæ, genit. rei.

The Gothic verb *usþriutan* just mentioned, coinciding entirely as to its form with OE. *āþrēotan*, is, however, a personal verb constructed with a nomin. rei for its subject and meaning 'to molest'. Its construction does not in every respect agree with that of the verbs met with in the corresponding Greek phrases, although the construction is personal in every case. Thus the Greek version of v. 5, ch. XVIII, Gosp. of St. Luke, shows the construction: nomin. rei (as subject) + accus. personæ, whereas the Gothic version has dat. personæ. The ON. verb *þrjóta*, 'to fail', from the same verbal base, is met with also in the impersonal expression *mik þrýtr*, with the signification 'I become tired'. OHG. had the impersonal phrases: *mih ar-, ir-, bidriuzit, mih artrâgêt*, all of them constructed with genit. rei and meaning 'I find irksome, resent'. OHG. *mih ardriuzit* in all respects coincides with OE. *hine āþrīet*.

The facts adduced render the inference credible that the impersonal structure of sentences of the present import was common Aryan property, although there do not appear to be any indications as to the occurrence of this mode of construction in Greek. It is probable, too, that the Prim. Teut. strong verb **þreutan*, 'to molest', was used from old in impersonal phrases parallel to Latin *tædet*, etc. As in the case of *(ge)scamian* (v. above), the personal construction occurring in Gothic, which, as pointed out already, does not seem to be an imitation of the construction of the corresponding Greek verbs, very likely represents a younger development, accidentally not recorded in OE. and OHG. Cp. the extant personal constructive type met with in OE., having a nomin. personæ for its subject.

As to the genesis of the recorded constructions: *hine (ā)þrīet* + *an infinitive* or *a subordinate clause*, v. section B, p. 215, and ch. I, section B, pp. 118 and 128 sq.

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OE. him ofþync(e)ð, 'displeasure, grief, etc., is at hand for him' (= 'he is displeased, he grieves', etc.).

This OE. Impersonale, used absolutely,[1]) or with genit. rei (: in respect of - - -), appears to stand quite isolated. For want of indications of the existence of similar constructions elsewhere, and in default of other criteria, its history is obscure.

As to the origin of complex sentences consisting of the phrase *him ofþync(e)ð + a dependent clause*, see section B, p. 215, and ch. I, section B, p. 130 sq.

As additional examples of the impersonal mode of construction in the case of verbs belonging to the present semantic subsection, the following ON., OHG. and MHG. impersonal expressions may be cited, showing a similar construction to that of the OE. Impersonalia of this group, but denoting other kinds of affections: ON. *vœntir mik + genit.* (or *accus.*) *rei*, 'hope for, expect, - - -,' *mik undrar*, 'I become astonished'; OHG. *mih egisôt*, 'I am fearful', *mih gruet*, 'horresco'; MHG. *mich* (*mir*) *gruset + genit. rei*, 'I shudder at the sight of - - -', *mich wundert + genit. rei*, 'I wonder at - - -'. ('Wundert ihn des schwarzen Ritters'; Wieland).

Subsection β.

OE. him gebyreð, 'care is at hand for him' (= 'he cares').

The history of this Impersonale is far from clear. The import of the expression *him gebyreð tō - - -*, 'he cares for - - -', is evidently very nearly related to that of the morphologically identical impersonal phrase *him gebyreð tō - - -*, with the signification 'he has to do with, stands in some sort of relation to - - -'. See Group 6, p. 212 sq. below. We are quite justified, no doubt, in assuming that the two shades of meaning are the outcome of sense-development, originating in a common, primary signification. See ch. I, p. 58.

What, then, can be said about the provenance of this OE. impersonal expression, with its slightly differentiated imports? Practically nothing, at least with any degree of certainty. A se-

[1]) The occurrence of this expression without any complement in the shape of a genit. rei, is not quite certain. See ch. I, p. 56 sq.

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mantic counterpart is met with in classical Greek, viz. the Impersonale *μέλει μοι τοῦδε*, 'I care for this.' Note that the Greek and the Latin versions of the Bible passages in which there occur instances of the OE. Impersonale in question, have impersonal constructions of the following aspect: '*οὐ μέλει αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν προβάτων*', and 'non pertinet ad eum de ovibus?' (Vulgate). Gosp. John, ch. X, v. 13. Cp. the OE. rendering: 'him ne gebyraþ to þam sceapum'. The passage of the Vulgate which corresponds to the following quotation from Aelfr. Genesis, ch. XXXIII, v. 5: 'Hwaet synd þas? gebyrað him aht to þe?', reads as follows: 'et si ad te pertinent?'

The Teut. dialects other than OE. do not seem to have made use of this kind of impersonal expression. Cp. the Gothic version of the passage from the Gospel of St. John just mentioned: 'ni kar-ist ina þize lambe?'

It is evident that from the few facts thus gathered, no reliable inferences can be drawn as to the origin of OE. *him gebyreð tō* - - -. We may add that the texts (mostly by Aelfric, and from the Gospels; thus late) in which the OE. examples occur, are all of them prosaic, and that in every case Latin influence is possible; in other words, the OE. Impersonale might be considered as an imitation of a Latin muster. However, the OE. constructions to which parallel Latin versions are extant, would seem to have too little in common with the latter to admit of such an interpretation. See quotations given above, and compare the literal rendering of the Latin version: 'non pertinet ad eum de ovibus', of the passage from St. John, X:13, occurring in Li. and Ru.: 'ne byreð to him from scipum?'

OE. him *(of)earmað, 'commiseration is at hand for him' (= 'he commiserates').

The history of this impersonal expression is uncertain. It has been mentioned in ch. I, p. 58 sq., that according to the doubtless very acceptable theory advocated by Kluge and Feist, the etymologically corresponding Teut. verbs: Goth. *arman*, OHG. *irbarmên*, and OE. (*of-*)*earmian* (all of related import but differing in point of construction), were formed on the respective adjec-

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tives, (Prim. Teut. **arma-*, 'poor'), on the pattern of Lat. *misereri*, shaped on the adjective *miser*.

But here the conformity with the Latin verb ends. The Teutonic verbs are only partially constructed like their Latin (personal and impersonal) equivalents. As seen from the one or two records extant, the OE. Impersonale was constructed thus: *him* **(of-) earmað* +, probably, *genit. rei.* Cp. the Latin impersonal *me miseret* + *genit. rei.* The other Teutonic dialects do not show any instances of impersonal formations. Thus in Gothic we find the personal: 'frauja --- gaarmaida þuk', 'the Lord took pity on thee'. (Gospel of St. Mark, ch. V, v. 19). Cp. the Greek version of the same passage: 'ἠλέησέν σε', entirely coinciding with the Gothic rendering. We may compare, too, Latin *miseror* + *accus. rei.* The OHG. equivalent, the verb *irbarmên*, is constructed personally, having the cause of the affection for its grammatical subject. Cp. the OE. personal construction: 'Him earmode ðær ungesæligan angin', 'the unhappy woman's enterprise was a cause of pity to him'. (De Vitis Patrum, Grein 3, 196:29).

It is of course impossible to decide, from the facts adduced, whether an impersonal construction of the type recorded in OE., originally existed in all or some of the Teutonic dialects, brought over there from Latin at the period in which the Teutonic verbs were modelled on Latin *misereri*, and, later, died out in these dialects, except in OE., or whether the isolated OE. Impersonale is a later adaptation of Latin: *me miseret* + *genit. rei.* In either case, we must assume an original accus. personæ to have been supplanted in OE. by the dative.

OE. him ofhrīewð, 'compassion is at hand for him' (= 'he has compassion').

Nothing can be said with reference to the earlier history of this impersonal expression, since there are no indications, it seems, of an existence of equivalent phrases, corresponding as regards etymology and import, in the other Teutonic dialects. See the discussion on the simple verb *hrēowan*, and on *(of)earmian*, related as to sense with *ofhrīewan*, abooe.

As to the genesis of the extant constructive type: *him of-*

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hrīewð + *a dependent clause*, see section B, p. 215, and ch. I, section B, p. 130 sq.

Group 5: Expressions denoting some manifestation of mental activity.

The following are the Impersonalia belonging here: *hine* (*him*) (*ge*)*mǣt*(*eð*), *hine* (*him*)[1] (*ge*)*swefnað*, *him* (*ge*)*þync*(*e*)*ð*, *him* **mis-þync*(*e*)*ð*, *hine* (*him*) (*ge*)*twēoð*, and *hine* (*him*) (*ge*)*twēonað*.

As to the probable age of constructions of the type: *hine mǣteð*, 'he dreams', and the relative age of the two types: *hine mǣteð* and *him mǣteð*, v. p. 175. Note that the identical predicational change from a predication of *action:* 'a dreaming takes hold of him', into a prediction of *existence:* 'a dreaming exists for him', has evidently taken place in the case of some Impersonalia of the present semantic group, as in point of several impersonal expressions appertaining to the preceding group. See p. 176 above. Cp. also the impersonal phrase *hine* (*him*) (*ge*)*wierð*, p. 205 sq. below (Group 6). The two semantically related Impersonalia *hine* (*ge*)*twēoð* and *hine* (*ge*)*twēonað*, 'he doubts', are both constructed with a *genit. rei*, denoting the irritant stimulus, or the thing, etc., in respect of which the mental activity implied in the verb is true, or else this member of the sentence takes the shape of *a prepositional phrase* (v. ch. I, pp. 67, 68). With regard to the presumable relative age of these two structural types, see p. 182 sq..

OE. hine (him) (ge)mǣt(eð), 'dreaming takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he dreams').

The notion implied by this OE. Impersonale was, according to dictionaries, expressed personally in Greek and Latin. Thus we find e. g.: *ἐνυπνιάζω τι*, *somnio aliquid*, or *de re*, 'I dream (about) something'. Whether an impersonal construction was once extant, in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, etc., with verbs of this import, on a par with e. g. Lat. *poenitet me*, seems uncertain though probable. Cp. the remarks made on *him* (*ge*)*þync*(*e*)*ð*, p. 197 sq,

Inasmuch as we find in ON. and in OHG. impersonal phrases such as *mik dreymir*, *mir troumit*, 'I dream', respectively, we may

[1]) The dat. personæ not quite certain. See ch. I, p. 62.

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draw the inference that the impersonal mode of construction was at least common Teut. property. As to OE. *hine* (*ge*)*mæt*(*eð*) *swefn*, the occurrence of the ON. similar phrase *mik dreymir draum* suggests the conclusion that this type was common Teutonic, too.

As mentioned in ch. I, p. 60, there are no examples annotated by my authorities, of counterparts to OE. (*ge*)*mætan*. It is therefore impossible to say whether the OE. impersonal phrase *hine* (*ge*)*mæt*(*eð*) had exact equivalents in the WGerm. languages, or in Prim. Teut. already, although not recorded, or whether it is an exclusively OE. formation, shaped on a common Teut. (or a still older) type. Note that OE. *drīeman*, from, ultimately, the same Teut. verbal base as the ON. and OHG. verbs *dreyma* and (*ga-*) *troumên*, *troumjan*, had quite a different signification, to wit 'to rejoice', etc. Cp. OS. *drômjan*, 'jubilare'.

As to the genesis of the extant constructive type *hine* (*him*) (*ge*)*mæteð* + *a dependent clause*, v. section B, p. 215, and ch. I, section B, p. 131 sq.

OE. hine (him) (ge)swefnað, 'dreaming takes hold of (exists for) him' (= 'he dreams').

This Impersonale, like *hine* (*him*) (*ge*)*mæte*(*ð*), stands quite isolated. As to its origin, the same remarks are valid as in the case of the semantically cognate Impersonale just mentioned.

OE. him (ge)þync(e)ð, 'it seems (good) to him'.

With reference to the type of construction in OE. represented by *him* (*ge*)*þync*(*e*)*ð*, we are doubtless justified in ascribing to it a very great age indeed. Cp. Group 4, precursory remarks, p. 174 sqq. It is interesting to find in Fay, o. c., such statements as the following concerning Greek δοκεῖ μοι, etc: 'Thought, as well as emotion, is the response to an irritant stimulus'. (§ 2); and 'That the idiom (μοι μέλει, etc.,) once ranged more widely in Greek is proved for me by δοκεῖ μοι and δοκῶ. In the earlier time of mankind, still with many men, with whole nations in time of war, thought, produced by an emotional stimulus, does not rise out of the sphere of emotion. In English, *it strikes me* reproduces every aspect of the Impersonalia of emotion, but it is a way of saying 'I think, fancy,

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suppose - - -'. (§ 10). Cp. Lat. *mihi videtur*. The Greek and Latin verbs mentioned are, however, not related to each other, or to OE. *(ge)þyncan*, in point of etymology.

In the Teutonic languages, the verbs corresponding both as regards etymology and import to OE. *(ge)þyncan* (Prim. Teut. **þunkjan*, 'to seem') are all constructed in a similar manner to that of the OE. verb. Thus we find Goth. *mis þugkeiþ*[1]), ON. *mér þykkir*, *OSwed. mik* (*mær*) *þykkir*, and OHG. *mih* (*mir*) *dunchit*, all = 'it seems to me'. Note that in OSwed., as well as in OHG., the person whom the stimulus in question influences, appears indiscriminately in the accusative or in the dative. As to the presumable relative age of the two types: *mih* and *mir dunchit*, cp. p. 175 sq. above.

In view of these facts, the very early origin of the prototype of the OE. impersonal expression *him (ge)þync(e)ð swā*, etc., is hardly to be doubted.

As to the genesis of extant sentences of the two types: *him (ge)þync(e)ð + an infinitive*, *him (ge)þync(e)ð + a dependent clause*, see section B, p. 215, and ch. I, section B, pp. 118 sq. and 132 sqq.

OE. him *misþync(e)ð, 'it seems to him wrongly' (= 'he is mistaken').

OE. *him *misþync(e)ð* appears to stand quite isolated, both as regards structure and sense. Cp. e. g. Mod. Swed. *misstycka*, a personal verb, 'to take in ill part'. The OE. Impersonale is perhaps an exclusively OE. phrase, formed on *him þync(e)ð (swā)*. Cp. ON. *e-m missýnir*: 'one sees wrong', an impersonal expression.

OE. hine (him) (ge)twēoð, hine (him) (ge)twēonað, 'doubt takes hold of (exists for) him' (='he doubts').

There seem to be no indications of an existence in the non-Teutonic cognate languages of an impersonal use of verbs corre-

[1]) It is of course quite possible that Goth. *mis þugkeiþ* is an imitation of the phrase *δοκεῖ μοι* occurring in the Greek original. But, as pointed out by Fay, (o. c., § 2), 'we must beware of concluding too hastily that we have in *þugkeiþ mis* an imitation of *δοκεῖ μοι*'. Cp. the similar expressions adduced from other Teutonic dialects.

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sponding as to sense with OE. *(ge)twēon*, *(ge)twēogan*, and *(ge)twēonian*, occurring in phrases of the type: *hine (him) (ge)twēoð*. Both Greek and Latin, e. g., have personal constructions, such as the following: *ἀπιστῶ*, *ἀμφισβητῶ*, *dubito*, 'I doubt'; *πολλὰς ἀπιστίας ἔχει*, 'the thing admits of many doubts.'

In OHG. we find the etymologically cognate denominative verbs *zueôn*, *zuehôn*, and *zwîfalôn*, 'to doubt', in personal constructions. Note, though, impersonal phrases such as: *mih zuîvelet*, 'I doubt'.

It goes without saying that on these facts no statement can be substantiated as to the earlier history of the OE. phrases under discussion. They may belong to the same presumably very old category of Impersonalia as e. g. Lat. *poenitet me*, or they may be Teut. or WGerm. analogical formations, shaped on the model of hereditary impersonal expressions. Note the extant examples of the construction *genit. rei* with these Impersonalia.

As to the genesis of the extant constructive types *hine (him) (ge)twēonað + an infinitive*, and *hine (him) (ge)twēoð, (ge)twēonað, + a dependent clause*, v. section B, p. 215, and ch. I, section B, p. 119 and p. 134 sq.

The assumption of, at least, a common Teut. occurrence of impersonal constructions belonging to the present semantic category, i. e. of the type: *hine (him) (ge)mæt(eð)*, *hine (him) (ge)twēoð*, may be considered to find support in the existence of ON.phrases such as the following, appertaining to the semantic group mentioned, but lacking exact semantic equivalents in OE.: *mik grunar + genit. rei*, or *a prep. phrase*, 'I am uncertain concerning - - -', *mik minnir + genit. rei*, 'I remember something', and others.

Preliminary remarks to Groups 6—8.

It has been pointed out in ch. I. p. 68, that the OE. Impersonalia included in Groups 1 to 5 (incl.), in the aggregate and with a great many exceptions, represent more elementary ideas, whereas those belonging to Groups 6, 7 and 8 mostly express more complicated notions. The growth of the latter, as well as of the sentences by means of which they were expressed, is necessarily of a comparatively later date. It stands to reason,

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however, that such notions, and their linguistic garb as well, are the common property of all the IE. languages in historic times. How far back the individual OE. Impersonalia of these groups can be traced, is a question that the following pages will try to settle, as far as the resources at my disposal render it possible.

Group 6: Expressions denoting different aspects of the course of events, the state of things.

Subcategory a. *Expressions referring to the course of events.*

The following are the Impersonalia belonging here: *gebyreð, cymð tō bōte, (hit) (be)cymð him tō ādle* (etc.), *dereð, (hit) færð, hit *fēr(e)ð, (hit) *gǣð (ge-, ā-, āge-, an-), hit gangeð, hit *gōdað, (hit) (ge)limp(e)ð, *mislimp(e)ð, (ge)sǣl(e)ð, sceþeð, (ge)spēwð, *mis-spēwð, *getīdeð, *mistīdeð, (hit) getīmað, *geþwǣrað,*[1] *hit went, (ge)-wierð, hit wiersað, hit *yfelað (hine, him *geyfelað); *ofercymð; *ofergǣð, tōgangeð* and *tōsǣl(e)ð.*

The impersonal character of some of these phrases is doubtful. See ch. I, p. 70.

In the non-Teut. branches of the IE. parent language no instances occur, as it appears, of etymologically corresponding verbs in impersonal constructions, with the import 'it fares (so and so)'. We may compare semantically equivalent Latin impersonal phrases such as: *ut fit, ita fieri solet; bene,* etc., *agitur cum aliquo.*

With reference to the Teut. dialects, the impersonal mode of expressing this idea seems to be fairly well represented, at least in ON. and OHG. There even occur some ON. and OHG. Impersonalia, etymologically identical with semantically cognate OE. impersonal expressions. For examples, v. the discussion of the separate OE. expressions. The common Teut., or common WGerm., origin of OE. Impersonalia of this latter kind seems incontestable. It is most probable, no doubt, that, whenever an OE. impersonal verb of the present import had etymologically

[1]) As in ch. I, this Impersonale is here too considered immediately after the impersonal expression *(ge)wierð*. The reason for this arrangement is given on p. 69.

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corresponding counterparts in other Teut. languages, these verbs were sometimes also used as Impersonalia in Gothic, ON., etc., although accidentally not recorded as such.

OE. gebyreð, 'it fares (so and so)'.

There seem to be no examples extant in other Teut. dialects of exact counterparts to this OE. Impersonale. Its history is therefore obscure. Cp. the identical phrase as occurring in the semantic group 4, p. 193, and in the present group, pp. 212. We may compare the etymologically cognate ON. Impersonale (*e-m*) *byrjar*, of denominative origin, 'a fair wind rises, somebody gets fair wind'. The ON. noun *byrr*, 'prosperous wind', is a derivation from the Prim. Teut. verbal base **ber-*, 'to carry', etc., whence also, ultimately, OE. (*ge*)*byrian*, 'to happen, fare', etc. (v. ch. I, p. 59 sq.).

OE. cymð tō bōte, (hit) (be)cymð him tō ādle (etc.).

As pointed out in ch. I, p. 71, the impersonal character of these expressions is problematic, which amounts to saying that it is hardly possible to decide whether the import is: 'improvement takes place', 'illness, etc., comes to him', respectively, or: 'the circumstances mentioned in the preceding are improving', 'this circumstance will make him ill', and so on. If we assume impersonal constructions, we may no doubt consider them to be expansions of the presumably primary expressions of the same structure, implying specifications of *time* and *locality*. See pp. 169 sqq., and 172 sqq.

There would seem to be no instances recorded, in any other Teut. dialect, of expressions tallying in all respects with the OE. phrases in question, to judge from my authorities. If they are apprehended as impersonal, we must therefore consider the history of such Impersonalia as uncertain.

OE. dereð.

If this expression is really an Impersonale, with the import 'injury is the result', a supposition which appears questionable, it stands quite isolated as such. This fact of course forms another

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argument in favour of an assumption of personal constructions only, being used with this verb.

OE. (hit) færð, 'it fares (so and so)'.

The common Teut. verb, Prim. Teut. **faran*, OE. *faran*, occurs in ON. and in OHG. in impersonal phrases such as: 'svá fór at - - -', 'it so happened that - - -', 'fór þar sem annarsstaðar', 'things took the same course there as elsewhere'; 'iƀ fuor so umbe - - -', 'that is how it fared with - - -', thus with significations related to that of the OE. Impersonale (*hit*) *færð*, 'it fares (so and so)'[1]). Consequently, this OE. impersonal expression is doubtless an inheritance from Prim. Teut.

OE. hit *fēr(e)ð, 'it fares (so and so)'.

This impersonal phrase would seem to be an exclusively OE. analogical formation, since there are no examples, as it appears, of the corresponding verbs as Impersonalia in the other Teut. languages.

OE. (hit) *gæð, etc., hit gangeð, 'it fares (so and so)'.

Curiously enough, there appear to exist no instances, either, of impersonal expressions containing OHG., etc., verbs etymologically identical with OE. *gān*, as occurring in the phrase (*hit*) **gǣð*, 'it fares (so an so)'. This is no doubt due to mere chance. Of the semantically identical OE. impersonale *hit gangeð*, at least one counterpart is on record, viz. the ON. verb *ganga* in impersonal sentences such as the following: 'sagði, sem gengit hafði', '(he) told us things as they had occurred'. (Quoted from Fritzner). There is of course every reason to believe that OE. (*hit*) **gǣð swā*, etc., as well as *hit gangeð swā*, etc., had exact equivalents in the other Teut. dialects, and that they had their prototypes in Prim. Teut. Cp. Mod. High German: *es geht e-m schlecht*, 'things take a bad turn for someone'; Mod. Swed. *det plägar gå så*, 'that is the way of the world'.

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[1]) The ON. examples are quoted from Fritzner; those from OHG., from Grimm IV 273.

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OE. hit *gōdað, 'the state of things improves'.

Examples of entirely coinciding parallel formations to this Impersonale are not given by my authorities. We may compare semantically cognate impersonal phrases such as: Lat. 'ei melius factum est', 'his health has improved', ON. *e-m batnar*, 'someone recovers (from illness)', *e-m léttir sóttar*, of the same sense, and OHG. '- - - zit in thero imo baȝȝeta', '- - - melius habuerat'. (The Lat. and ON. examples are taken from dictionaries; the OHG. phrase from Behaghel, o. c., p. 132). ON. *batna* and OHG. *baȝȝen* are ultimately derived from the same root as OE. *batian*, 'to be in good health', which latter verb is not recorded as an Impersonale.

The impersonal mode of structure with verbs of this import is clearly a common Teut. feature. As to the OE. expression *hit *gōdað* in particular, we can say nothing as to its history. Cp. the semantically cognate OE. impersonal expressions *hit wiersað*, *hit *yfelað* (p. 207).

OE. (hit) (ge)limp(e)ð, *mislimp(e)ð, and (ge-)sæl(e)ð, 'it fares (so and so)', 'things turn out badly'.

The earlier history of these impersonal expressions is obscure. As pointed out in ch. I, p. 74, the verb *(ge)limpan* had one etymologically identical counterpart only, in the kindred languages, viz. OHG. *limphan*, which verb had the import: 'to be adequate, appropriate'. As to OE. **mislimp(e)ð* and *(ge)sæl(e)ð*, we are perhaps justified in considering these Impersonalia as exclusively OE. formations, since there would seem to be no indications of the existence of the respective verbs outside OE., whether in personal or impersonal constructions. But there is evidently nothing that hinders us from assuming the impersonal expressions in question to be inherited. Cp. the phrase *tōsæl(e)ð*, p. 208 below.

OE. sceþeð.

With regard to this phrase (i. e., if it be really an impersonal expression, with the signification 'harm is the result', an assumption which is doubtless very contestable; v. ch. I, p. 76), it may be sufficient to refer to the discussion of the semantically cognate

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expression *dereþ* (p. 201 above), since the identical remarks are valid in both cases.

OE. (ge)spēwð, 'it fares (so and so), success attends'.

The OE. impersonal expression *him (ge)spēwð* (+ *genit. rei*), 'success, failure, attends him (as regards - - -)', had at least one exactly tallying counterpart, viz. OHG. *spuot*, which Impersonale occurs in sentences such as: 'iro spuot is ubelo', 'she fares badly in this respect', 'to imo des ne spuota', 'he did not then succeed in this', 'spuot is imo zi irfarenne - - -', 'he meets with success concerning this, viz. to get to know - - -'. (Quoted from Grimm IV, p. 261 sqq.). This fact evidently points to the conclusion that the OE. Impersonale in question is of common WGerm., if not older, origin. Note the genit. rei occurring both in OE. and in OHG., and compare the Sanskrit and Greek impersonal expressions: *kálpatē* and *προχορεῖ*, + *dat. personæ*, 'someone meets with success'. According to Brugmann, *Syntax* § 18, these Sanskr. and Greek verbs also occur with a nomin. rei for their subject.

OE. *misspēwð, 'things turn out badly'.

Nothing can be said with reference to the earlier history of this impersonal phrase. As mentioned in ch. I, p. 78 sq.,, there are no instances on record of Goth., etc., verbs identical as to etymology and formation with OE. *misspōwan.*

OE. *getīdeð, 'it fares (so and so)', *mistīdeð, 'things miscarry'.

No absolutely corresponding equivalents seem to occur, either, of OE. **getīdeð*, **mistīdeð*. As mentioned in ch. I, p. 79, the etymologically cognate verbs, ON. *tíða* and MLG. *tîden* meant 'to desire, covet', while the likewise etymologically related MHG. verb *zîten* had the import 'to be (proper) time'. Consequently, we must leave unanswered the question whether the OE. Impersonalia mentioned had counterparts both as to etymology, sense and mode of construction, in the other Teut. or, at least WGerm., dialects.

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OE. (hit) getīmað, hit went, 'it fares (so and so)'.

Both these impersonal phrases lack exact equivalents in the cognate languages, to judge from my authorities. Since, however, the two verbs *(ge)tīmian* and *wendan* had etymological and semasiological counterparts in other Teut. dialects, as e. g. ON. *tíma*, Goth. *wandjan*, ON. *venda*, etc. (v. ch. I, p. 78 and 80), and since, as pointed out above, p. 200 sq., it is of course highly probable that such verbs as these were used in all the Teut. languages in impersonal sentences of the type: *(him) getīmað (swā*, etc.), there is hardly any doubt that the OE. Impersonalia under discussion were of common Teut. origin.

It should be noted that the ON. verb *vinda*, 'to wind, turn', the representative in that language of the primary verb, Prim. Teut. **wenðan*, of the same sense, whence the causative formation, Prim. Teut. **wanðjan*, ON. *venda*, etc., is recorded in impersonal phrases such as: *vindr kynliga við*, 'curious things happen'.

OE. (ge)wierð.

Of very ancient origin are no doubt the existing OE. impersonal expressions containing a form of the verb *(ge)weorþan* as a verb of material import. For the different significations of the phrase: *hine (him) (ge)wierð (þæs)*, etc., see ch. I, p. 81. The construction accus. personæ is doubtless older than the dative. The reason for this assertion is contained in the theory concerning the origin of the phrases in question which is adduced below.

The OE. impersonal expressions of this aspect had an equivalent in OHG. Thus we find in Otfried III 6:44 the following example (quoted from Grimm IV, p. 266): 'sie des brotes giward', 'eis panis contingebat'. Consequently, we may safely infer that the OE. Impersonalia of this type were not of exclusively OE. growth. From the discussion that follows, it will even appear probable that, as hinted already, we are justified in assigning to them a very ancient origin, indeed. I have found no indications, however, of an occurrence of parallel expressions in Sanskrit, etc.

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The primary sense attached to the Prim. Teut. verb **werþan*, < the IE. verbal root **u̯ert-*, was 'vertere, verti' (v. ch. I, p. 80 sq.). The close etymological relationship between the Teut. verb **werþan* and the Teut. noun **wurði-*, 'fate', renders the assumption very attractive that impersonal phrases of the type: *hine (ge)wierð þæs* primarily had the following import: 'Fate turns him with respect to this'. If such is the correct interpretation, which appears very probable, the accus. forms which occur in many of these phrases, find their explanation. Cp. the accus. personæ forms met with in several other impersonal phrases that also give the impression of being of a more ancient type than those containing the dat. personæ variety. (v. prefatory remarks to Group 4, p. 174 sqq., and cp. ch. I, section B, p. 136 sqq.).

In this connection it is of interest to compare the *verbum substantivum*, which in Goth. and OHG. occurs in combination with accus. personæ forms. Thus in the Bible passage: 'ni kar-ist ina þize lambe', lit.: 'non cura est eum ovium' (Gosp. John, ch. X, v. 13), and in OHG. sentences of the type: *mih ist ẽs wuntar*, 'I wonder at this', etc. According to Miklosisch, o. c., p. 71 sq., the word *kara* met with in the Gothic example is not the subject. Consequently, this is an impersonal construction.

From a predicational point of view, the OE. phrase *hine (ge)wierð (þæs)*, which mode of construction we have assumed to be the primary one, represents a predication of *action*, while the later development: *him (ge)wierð (þæs)*, is a predication of *existence*, implying that a certain juncture comes into existence for someone. Cp. the analogous exchange of *him* for older *hine*, and the concomitant predicational change, that took place in several other impersonal phrases. (v. Groups 4 and 5).

As in the case of impersonal expressions belonging to the semantic groups 4 and 5, the construction genit. rei is prior, without doubt, to the extant constructions consisting of a prepositional phrase with the identical function (v. p. 182 above).

The origin of complex sentences of the aspect: *hine (ge)wierð þæt* - - -, as well as the function of the dependent clause, has been discussed in ch. I, section B, p. 136 sqq. See also the present chapter, section B, p. 215.

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OE. *geþwæræð, 'an agreement takes place'.

Nothing can be settled, as it appears, with reference to the history of this Impersonale. As mentioned in ch. I, p. 84, the etymology and relations of the verb *geþwærian* are obscure.

OE. hit wiersað, 'things grow worse'; hit *yfelað, 'things become bad', (hine) him *geyfelað, 'he falls ill'.

As to these Impersonalia, similar remarks obtain as in the case of *hit *gōdað* (v. p. 203 above). Cp. ON. impersonal expressions, semantically more or less akin to the OE. phrases, such as: *versnar með þeim*, 'their relations become less good', *þyngir sótt hans*, 'he grows worse'. This latter, too, is an Impersonale according to Fritzner. ON. *versna* is related as regards etymology to OE. *wiersian*.

Obviously, it was customary in the Teut. dialects to express ideas of this description impersonally. Since such expressions are recorded both from ON. and WGerm. languages, they are doubtless an inheritance from the common Teut. period. As to the individual OE. Impersonalia, we can say nothing with reference to their history. It seems hardly justifiable to draw any conclusions in this respect from the one instance on record of an accus. personæ occurring in the phrase *hine *geyfelað*. The two or three other examples of this Impersonale met with, contain a dat. personæ. (v. ch. I, p. 84 sq.).

OE. *ofercymð, 'a subjugation is effected'[1]), *ofergæð, 'a discontinuance occurs'.

No parallels are extant in other Teut. dialects to these OE. expressions, as it appears. However, the structure of the examples quoted (ch. I, p. 85): '(Many a warrior almost wished that) þæs cynerices ofercumen wære', and: 'Þæs ofereode', i. e. with genit.

[1]) As pointed out in ch. I, p. 85, it is very doubtful whether we have really to annotate the existence of an impersonal expression of this aspect, since the one example on record of the verb *ofercuman* in an impersonal construction is probably in the passive voice, and since the existence of a passive impersonal formation does not perforce imply also the occurrence of the same verb as an active Impersonale.

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rei, as well as the early date of the poetical text (Deor's Complaint) where they occur, are circumstances that doubtless favour the belief that these constructions are inherited and not OE. formations.

OE. tōgangeð, 'a passing away occurs'.

The OE. Impersonale *tōgangeð* had an exactly corresponding counterpart in OHG., viz. the phrase (*iz*) *zigengit* (+ *genit. rei*), 'something comes to an end,' as exemplified by the following quotation: 'tho zigianc thes lides', 'then the liquor was consumed'. (Cited from Grimm IV, p. 261 sqq.)

A common WGerm., if not older, origin is consequently hardly questionable.

OE. tōsæl(e)ð, 'a deficiency occurs'.

As in the case of the impersonal expression (*ge*)*sǣl*(*e*)*ð* (p. 203 above), nothing can be said with regard to the history of OE. *tōsǣl*(*e*)*ð*, 'a deficiency occurs'. Construction, as well as import, coincide with those of the Impersonale *tōgangeð*, discussed above.

In this place may be given some further examples, mostly from ON., of Impersonalia belonging to the present semantic subcategory, but etymologically unrelated to the OE. impersonal expressions, or only distantly so, and without exactly corresponding semantic counterparts in OE. In ON. we find examples of the following types: *ekr hart at e-m*, 'it goes hard with someone', *svá berr til*, 'that is the way of the world', *stundum kann svá at falla at - - -*, 'it sometimes happens that - - -'. *hagnar e-m*, 'someone gets on well', *lýkr e-u*, 'something comes to an end', *víkr annan veg af*, 'things turn out in a manner not expected', and many others.

From OHG. we may adduce e. g. the following impersonal phrases: *mir gilingit vil ubele*, 'I succeed very badly', *ni zawêt mir es niawiht*, 'I am not at all successful in this', *ni girinnit mih thero worto*, 'the words do not run away from me', i. e., 'do not fail me'.

The impersonal mode of construction with verbs such as the above is evidently a common Prim. Teut. feature.

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Subcategory b: *Expressions referring to the state of things.*

Here belong the following Impersonalia: (*subservience to ends*) *hit *dēag, hine (him) gehagað, hine (him) onhagað, geneah, (ge)nyhtsumað, behōfað, (ge)nēodað,* and **beþearf;* (*moral fitness*) *(hit) gebyreð, (hit) gedafenað, belimp(e)ð* and **gerīst;* (*relation*) *gebyreð* and *belimp(e)ð;* (*custom*) **gewunað;* (*existence*) *hit is, (hit) stent,* and **fylgð.*

As pointed out in ch. I, the impersonal nature of some of these phrases is contestable.

OE. hit *dēag, 'there is goodness'.

As to the OE. Impersonale *hit *dēag,* I have found no examples from the cognate non-Teut. languages of similar impersonal formations (whether in point of type or verbal root), and but scant indications of corresponding phrases in the Teut. dialects. From ON. may be adduced the impersonal expression *dugir* (*:duga*), met with in sentences of the following type: *dugir e-m illa,* 'things turn out badly for someone', and from OHG. the phrase (quoted from Graff): 'imo ne tohta ze lebenne', (*:tugan*), 'he could not live'. ON. *duga* and OHG. *tugan* correspond as to etymology and sense to OE. *dugan* (v. ch. I, p. 87). The occurrence already in Prim. Teutonic of impersonal phrases equivalent to OE. *hit *dēag* seems hardly questionable.

OE. hine (him) gehagað, onhagað, 'convenience takes hold of, is at hand for, him'.

No parallel constructions to these OE. Impersonalia seem to be on record in the cognate languages, whether Teutonic or non-Teutonic. Cp. the discussion of the verb *onhagian* in impersonal phrases of a similar aspect but with the signification 'he feels pleased', p. 183 sq., where it is pointed out that the two shades of meaning attached to the Teutonic verbs in question, as well as to their Prim. Teut. prototype **haγan,* viz. 'to please' and 'to suit', etc. (v. Fick III 67), necessarily do not readily admit of being kept asunder. Consequently, we may safely assume, no doubt, that the impersonal construction has the same

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provenance in both cases. The circumstance that the person for whom an opportunity exists often takes the shape of an accusative, which mode of construction has every appearance of being very old, renders it very probable, doubtless, that OE. *hine* (later *him*) *gehagað, on-*, are not of exclusively OE. growth, although parallel examples (with the same etymological basis) are lacking in other non-Teut. or Teut. languages.

OE. geneah, 'there is sufficiency'.

This Impersonale has at least one counterpart, viz. the OHG. impersonal phrase *ganah*, coinciding as to etymology and sense with the OE. expression. According to Grimm IV, p. 272, the OHG. Impersonale occurred in combination with accus., later dat., personæ. It should be noted, too, that the etymologically related MHG. verb *genuogen, genüegen* (v. OE. *genyhtsumað*, below) was frequently constructed impersonally, with accus. personæ and genit. rei. These facts would seem to indicate that the OE. Impersonale *geneah* is of ancient origin. There are, however, no reliable examples on record of *geneah* in combination with an accus. personæ (v. ch. I, p. 89 sq.). Note that Goth. *ganah*, etymologically cognate with OE. *geneah*, is a personal expression, occurring with a nomin. rei for its subject.

OE. (ge)nyhtsumað, 'there is sufficiency'.

It has been pointed out in ch. I, p. 90, that the impersonal character of the OE. phrase *(ge)nyhtsumað*, related as to etymology and sense to OE. *geneah*, is not certain. Note that the corresponding verbs, OHG. *ginuhtsamôn* and Goth. *ganōhjan*, 'to give satisfaction', of ultimately equivalent origin, are not recorded as impersonal verbs. On the other hand, ON. *nœgja* and MHG. *genuogen, genüegen* (OHG. *ginuogan*), 'to give satisfaction', which verbs are also derivatives from the same etymological base, both occur in impersonal phrases such as ON. 'oss nœgði ekki at því', 'that did not satisfy us' (quoted from Fritzner), and MHG. 'Ja wære des, wiȝȝe Krist, dem künege Artus ze vil - - - mich gnüeget rehter mage' (quoted from Lexer). The construction

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accus. personæ, genit. rei, appears to have been of frequent occurrence with this MHG. verb.

OE. behōfað, (ge)nēodað, and *beþearf, 'there is necessity, need'.

These Impersonalia, of which at least the latter two show the construction: dat. personæ, genit. rei, have semantic parallels in Greek, where there occur the impersonal expressions *δεῖ* and *χρή* in phrases of the type: *δεῖ μοί τινος*, 'I need something', *οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ ἀφροσύνης*, 'thou hast no need of impudence' (i. e. 'impudence does not befit thee'). The Greek verbs are etymologically unrelated to the OE. ones. Cp. Lat. *opus est mihi re*, 'I want something'. The impersonal construction of verbs and phrases of this import in combination with accus. (dat.) personæ, genit. rei, is doubtless of very ancient origin, to judge from its occurrence also in Greek and Latin. Cp. Baldes, *Der Genitiv bei Verbis im Althochdeutschen*, ch. II.

In the Teut. languages these presumably very old constructions of verbs denoting *want* are exemplified, not only by the OE. Impersonalia in question, but also by the OHG. impersonal phrases: *mir bristit, mengit,* + *genit. rei*, 'I am in want of, I lack'. In ON. we find verbs such as *skorta, vanta* (*Engl. want*) in impersonal sentences of the type: *skortir, vantar e-n e-t* (i. e. two accus. forms), 'someone lacks something'.

The impersonal mode of construction with verbs of this import is evidently common Teut. property. As regards the OE. Impersonalia in particular, nothing can be said with certainty as to whether they are of Prim. Teut. or English origin, since there are no indications, as it appears, of the existence in the cognate Teutonic languages of impersonal verbs corresponding also with regard to their derivation, to the OE. ones. ON. *hœfa*, from ultimately the same root as OE. *behōfian*, did not signify 'to want' (v. ch. I, p. 91). The ON. verb *þurfa*, etymologically and semantically identical with OE. *þurfan*, is constructed personally: *ek þarf þess*, 'I want this'. Note that this latter ON. constructive type is represented also in OE., where, as pointed out in ch. I, p. 91, we find the verb *behōfian* in constructions

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of the aspect: *Ic behōfie þisses ðinges*, 'I need this'. The genit. rei of this personal expression probably remains from an original impersonal construction: impersonal verb + accus. (dat.) personæ, genit. rei (cp. Lat. *poenitet me facti*, 'I repent of the deed', Greek *δεῖ μοί τινος*, 'opus est mihi re', OE. *mē* [dat.] *(ge)nēodaþ þisses ðinges*, 'I need this'), which impersonal type had become partially supplanted by personal formations. Cp. van Wijk, o. c., § 113 sqq.

As to the genesis of extant constructions of the two types: *(him) behōfaþ + an infinitive*, *(him) behōfaþ*, *(ge)nēodaþ*, **beþearf*, *+ a dependent clause*, see section B, p. 215, and ch. I, section B, pp. 121 and 139.

OE. (hit) gebyreð, (hit) gedafenað, belimp(e)ð, and *gerīst, 'it is fitting, proper'.

There is of course no reason to assume that these OE. impersonal expressions, which all of them occur in sentences of the following type: *man byrigde* (:buried) *hine, swa him wel gebyrede*, do not represent common Teut. formations, if the verbs themselves were extant (with the import in question) in the respective dialects, quite as we must suppose that, on the presumption that the verbs were extant, personal expressions of the type: *something* (subject) *gebyreð him*, occurred in these dialects. It will be sufficient to adduce the following ON. example: 'takandi eptir föður ok moður allskyns eignir fastar ok lausar sem fullrikan mann byrjar', 'as befits a great man'. (Quoted from Fritzner). Note the accus. personæ. The same Impersonale also occurs in conjunction with dat. personæ.

OE. him gebyreð tō- - -, him belimp(e)ð tō - - -, 'relation to - - - is at hand for him' (= 'he has to do with - - -, stands in relation to - - -, is concerned with - - -').

As to the origin of the impersonal expression *him gebyreð tō - - -*, with the import given above, see the discussion on the phrase (from the outset doubtless identical) *him gebyreð tō - - -*, 'he cares for - - -', p. 57 sq. (Group 4), where it is pointed out that nothing can be said in this respect with any amount of certainty.

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Likewise, the history of the semantically cognate OE. Impersonale *him belimp(e)ð tō* - - -, 'he has to do with', is obscure, since, as in so many other cases, the fact that my authorities do not adduce any instances of parallel impersonal formations from the cognate languages cannot be considered as a conclusive proof of their having never existed. Cp. personal ON. sentences such as the following: 'þær fórnir er byrja til heilags altaris', 'those offerings which belong to a holy altar'. (Quoted from Fritzner).

OE. him *gewunað, 'he takes up his abode (dwells)'.

The impersonal nature of this phrase occurring in one solitary example (Blickl. Hom. 199:8): 'He þa se fear þæs hyrdes drafe forhogode & him on þæt westen gewunode - - -', is, as mentioned already (v. ch. I, p. 98), uncertain. It does not seem unwarrantable, however, to suppose that it is the remnant of an old impersonal construction with the import 'he feels pleased (somewhere)', which signification later on developed into that of 'he is accustomed', 'he lives', etc. See the etymology of *gewunian*, given in ch. I, l. c. We may compare the ON. verb *dvelja*, 'to delay', etc., (OE. *dwelian*, 'to lead astray'), which is recorded as an Impersonale in the phrase: *e-m dvelst*, 'one stays, allows oneself plenty of time'.

OE. hit is, 'it exists (is written)', (hit) stent, 'it occurs, exists (stands written)', *fylgð, 'there follows in writing'.

With regard to the OE. Impersonal expressions *hit is*, (*hit*) *stent* and **fylgð* (if this latter phrase, in the one passage where it occurs, is really an Impersonale, which is doubtful; v. ch. I, p. 99), it stands to reason that there can hardly be any doubt that similar constructions were in use in all the Teut. languages. As a matter of fact, however, there are no indications of such a usage given by my authorities. Cp. Latin personal phrases such as: *esse in libro, apud aliquem*, 'to be written'. We may compare also semantically unrelated, ON. impersonal sentences such as: *stendr svá til at* - - -, 'circumstances are such as to - - -', *svá stendst af um (ferðir mínar)*, 'such are the facts with regard to (my travels)'.

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Group 7: Expressions implying a statement, an explanation; an exhortation, an admonition; a permission.

The following are the Impersonalia of the present semantic class that are met with in OE.: (*hit*) *cwið*, 'it says', *cȳð*, 'a statement is made', *onginð*, 'a beginning takes place (:a statement begins)', (*hit*) *sægð* (*sagað*), 'it says', (*hit*) (*ge*)*sweotolað*, 'a statement, an explanation, is made;' *manað*, 'an exhortation is given', *mynegað*, 'an admonition is given'; (*ā*)*līefð*, 'a permission is granted'.

With regard to the earlier history of expressions of this aspect and import, it is evident that the structural type which they represent, is a common Teut. feature, handed down from Prim. Teut. times, since we find exactly parallel formations both in ON. and OHG. For examples, see below. From the cognate non-Teut. languages we may adduce such expressions as Greek φησί, Lat. *inquit* (v. Wackernagel, o. c., p. 113), as well as post-classical Lat. *dicit* (for classical *dicitur;* v. Paul, o. c., § 193). It seems difficult to say whether any relation can be traced between the Teut. Impersonalia and these latter. As to the origin of the OE. phrases and their Teut. equivalents, see also Pogatscher, o. c., p. 294 sqq., and Sundén, *Essay II*, p. 386 sqq.

There is hardly any reason to doubt that the individual OE. Impersonalia had exactly coinciding counterparts in the other Teut. dialects, i. e. in so far as the verbs themselves were extant, with the significations in question. There are, however, but few examples recorded, as it appears. From OHG. may be adduced *quidit* (from *quedan*, OE. *cweþan*). In ON. we find numerous instances of the phrase *segir* (from *segja*, OE. *secgan*). In the case of those OE. Impersonalia with regard to which no parallel expressions seem to be on record in the cognate languages, or which contain verbs that appear to have no equivalents there, it is of course quite possible that they are OE. analogical formations. Thus *manað*, 'an exhortation is given', (*hit*) (*ge*)*sweotolað*, 'a statement, etc., is made.'

With regard to the origin of extant examples of *cweðan*, etc., without any (pro)nominal subject, but in conjunction with a dependent clause, cp. section B, p. 215. See also ch. I, section B, p. 140 sq., where the syntactical function of the dependent clauses is

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discussed. As to the genesis of the OE. expression *(ā)līefð*, 'a permission is granted', in particular, which phrase occurs only in conjunction with an infinitive, v. ch. I, section B, p. 124 sqq.

Group 8: The 'mæg cunnian' group.

The following are the Impersonalia included in this category: *mæg cunnian*, 'a test, realization, may take place'; *sceal dǣlan*, 'a cutting up shall take place'; *mæg geſēran*, 'a possibility of accomplishing a distance is at hand'; *mæg sēon*, 'a possibility of seeing exists.'

The common Teutonic origin of this subjectless type of construction appears to be very probable, inasmuch as there occur in ON. texts not a few instances of sentences built up in a manner that completely tallies with the structure of the OE. phrases. As examples may be adduced: 'Heyra má þat' (accus.), 'it can (may) be heard', 'at lǫgum skal land (accus.) byggja', 'a land must be built with laws' (quoted from Falk-Torp, o. c., p. 3); 'veitstu, hvé rísta skal'?, 'do you know how runes shall be cut?' (Hávamál 144, line 1).[1])

There would seem to be no instances on record of similar impersonal expressions in the other Teutonic dialects.

As to the origin of the extant type of construction: *mæg cunnian + a dependent clause*, v. section B, p. 215. The function of this clause has been considered in ch. I, section B, p. 141.

SECTION B. COMPLEX SENTENCES.

It has been shown in ch. I, section B, that some of the sentences consisting of a principal verb without any (pro)nominal subject, but in conjunction with an infinitive (pure or inflected), or a dependent clause, represent unmistakably personal, and others unmistakably impersonal constructions, and that a third category of such formations should be considered as at least proximately impersonal. Conformably to the plan of the treatise, we should now attempt to trace the history of such (unconditionally

[1]) Quoted from *Norræn Fornkvæði*, ed. Sophus Bugge, Christiania 1867.

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or alternatively) impersonal formations. However, very little can be added, it seems, to what has been said already in this respect. See ch. I, section B.

It stands to reason that we cannot here be expected to consider the origin of each separate OE. phrase of this description. It is sufficient to state that, as a matter of course, the impersonal construction in complex sentences is later in origin than the corresponding impersonal constructions in simple sentences. For the former structural type is no doubt chiefly an outcome of the growth of a written language, which must necessarily tend to development in stylistic versatility. In this respect the individual Old Teutonic languages may have attained a different degree of development. We cannot, therefore, expect that all OE. Impersonalia which occur also in complex sentences, and which are extant in other, contemporary, Teutonic dialects, must needs in these idioms have acquired this extended use. On the other hand, the development must in all of them proximately go in the same direction, since the complex sentences in question were undoubtedly formed on the pattern of corresponding impersonal simple sentences.

It follows from the above that, in the present case, the occurrence of complex sentences of this description even in all Old Teutonic languages does not, at least not as a rule, prove that this structural type existed already in the Teutonic parent language.

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[1] See note, p. 00.

[2] The examples from Bede, unless otherwise indicated, are all from EETS 95, 96.

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Alphabetical list of abbreviations of texts:

Aelfr(ic) Be Hester 30.
Aelfr. Canons 29.
Aelfr. De XII Abusivis 18.
Aelfr. Deuteron. 23.
Aelfr. De Veteri et Novo Test. 22.
Aelfr. Exodus 23.
Aelfr. Genesis 23.
Aelfr. Grammar 20.
Aelfr. Hiob 23.
Aelfr. Hom. 15.
Aelfr. Hom. John XI (v. 47—5^4) 30.
Aelfr. Hom. John XVI (v. 16—2^2) 30.
Aelfr. Hom. Judith 30.
Aelfr. Iosua 23.
Aelfr. Iudices 23.
Aelfr. Numeri 23.
Aelfr. Past. Epistle 29.
Aelfr. Past. Letters 21.
Aelfr. Preface 23.
Aelfr. Sermo in Natale Unius Confessoris 30.
Alc. De virtutibus 25.
Alc. Interrogationes 17.
Altengl. Kleinigkeiten 26.
Analecta Anglo-Sax. 28.
Andreas 5.
Angels. Minora 31.
Anglo-Sax. Laws 29.
Apoll. of Tyrus 32.
Aug. Soliloquies 12.
Bas. Admonition 19.
Bede 33.
Benedict. Offic. 35.
Beow. 1.
Blickl. Hom. 36.
Boethius 11.
Byrhtferð 37.
Byrhtnoth 5.
Cambr. Psalter 38.
Canons Edgar 29.
Cart. Sax. 39.
Chad 40.
Charms 60.
Christ and Satan 5.
Christofer 41.
Chron. 42.
Codex Dipl. 43.
Conf(essionale) Ecgberti 29.
Consuet. monach. 24.
Cotton Psalter 5.
Creation 5.
Crist 5.
Daniel 5.
De observatione lunæ 60.
Deor 5.
De somniorum eventu 60.
Destruc(tion) of Jerus. 30.
De Temp(oribus) 60.
De Vitis Patrum 30.
Dial. Greg. 46.
Disc. Sacr. Cross 47.
Disticha Cat. 48.
Eccles(iastical) Inst(itutes) 29.
Elene 4.
Epist. Alex. 50.
Ermahnung zu christl. Leben 30.
Evang. Nic. 51.
Excerptione Ecgberti 29.
Exhortation 5.
Exodus 5.
Genesis 5.
Gnomic Verses Ex. 5.
Gosp. 52.
Guðlac 5.
Harrow. Hell 54.
Die Heiligen Englands 55.
Herbar(ium), of Apul(eii) 60.
Hexam. 19.
History of the Holy Rood-tree 69.
Hom. John XIII (v. 1—30) 30.
Indicia Monast. 58.
Inst(itutes) of Polity 29.
Judith 5.
Juliana 5.
Lacnunga 60.
Læceboc 60.
Lapidar 59.
Larcwidas 5.

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The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church 57.
Lieb. 61.
Maria Aegypt. 62.
Martyr. 63.
Metra 7.
Metr. Paraphrase 2.
Mildred 60.
Neot 64.
Orosius 14.
Paris Psalter 5.
Past. Care 13.
Paternoster 5.
περί διδ(αξέων) 60.
Phoenix 5.
Poem MS. Vercelli 8.
Poenit(entiale) Ecgberti 29.
Prognostics 60.
Prose Guð lac 53.
Prose Prayers 67.
Prose Solomon and Saturn 72.
Reg. Ben. 68.
Riddles 5.
Rood 5.
Runic Poem 5.
Saints 16.
Seafarer 5.
Secular laws of King Cnut 29.
Sermo in festis Mariæ 71.
Solomon and Saturn 5.
Soul 5.
Verc. Hom. 75.
Whale 5.
Wife's Complaint 5.
Wonders 75.
Wulfstan 76.
Über das jüngste Gericht 30.
Ymbe mannes gecynde 60.

Addenda et Corrigenda.

P. 206, bottom of page, add:An instance of *(ge)weorðan* in combination with an infinitive is considered on p. 120.

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CONTENTS

Introduction 1
Ch. I. Descriptive Survey 13
Section A. Simple sentences 16
Group 1. Expressions for natural phenomena 16
Group 2. Expressions for various specifications of time 31
Group 3. Expressions denoting some specification of locality... 35
Group 4. Expressions denoting physical and mental affections... 38
Group 5. Expressions denoting some manifestation of mental activity 59
Group 6. Expressions denoting different aspects of the course of events, the state of things 69
Group 7. Expressions implying a statement, an explanation; an exhortation, an admonition; a permission 100
Group 8. The 'mæg cunnian' group 105
Section B. Complex sentences 108
Class A: Finite verbs + infinitives 113
Groups 1—3 113
Group 4 113
Group 5 118
Group 6 120
Group 7 124
Class B: Finite verbs + dependent clauses 126
Groups 1—3 126
Group 4 126
Group 5 131
Group 6 135
Group 7 140
Group 8 141
Ch. II. Genetic Survey 142
Section A. Simple sentences 151
Group 1 151
Group 2 169
Group 3 172
Group 4 174
Group 5 196
Group 6 199
Group 7 214
Group 8 215
Section B. Complex sentences 215
Bibliography 217
Addenda et Corrigenda 223

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